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ART. I.—*The Revealed Doctrine of Future Rewards and Punishments.*

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THE identity of the mental constitution of mankind under all the phases which locality, tribe, time, and sin have imparted to it, is a primary fact of vast importance to the establishment of various reasonings, both in intellectual and moral philosophy; and not less so to the confirmation of the first principles of revelation itself. If this fact could not be ascertained, foundations would be wanting in all the departments we have indicated, and many of the conclusions now generally deemed secure, could not be safely reached.

Happily, this mental and moral identity can be made out even more readily and satisfactorily than the physical identity of the species, viewed apart, and under the wide varieties it presents of form, colour, etc. When, however, the mental identity is established, it becomes a main stay to the doctrine of physical identity; and deprives, and, as we think, ought to deprive, trivial and unexplained varieties in that department, of all power to disturb the general conclusion.

The unquestionable fact, that all the same intellectual faculties, and that the same laws applicable to their exercise, have been always and everywhere developed among the human tribes, and are still invariably developed, under the given circumstances of civilization and social rule, goes far to establish the identity of the mental constitution of all the races bearing

the form of man. No other terrestrial animal, under any circumstances whatever, can be made to approach, even by the superior training of man, to say nothing of spontaneous or self-development, this mental type, in its complexity, variety, capability of indefinite improvement, and especially in its marked supremacy over all other living creatures. The widest extremes under which human nature may be found, are made to meet, and that, too, after a comparatively short period of culture. Men may all be taught to move in the same track, to ascend the same hill of science. They may stand for a generation or two, or for as many as you please, at different and distant stages of the ascent; but if there be mutual stimulus, companionship, action and re-action, they may all be perceived in progression towards the summit. Human beings in the lowest grade of civilization may be speedily brought to sympathize in all the mental experiences of those at the highest. This can never take place between man and any of the animals, although individuals, or even races of the latter may be endowed with some single faculty slightly approximating to a similar faculty in man. Yet at best it is a feeble and puny mimicry. It looks like an abortion that never came to the birth—an embryo of intellect never meant to grow, or the crumbs that have fallen to the dogs that feed under the superabundant table of man.

But let the human mental constitution be estimated, not by the comparison of a single power, and that in the lowest human grade with the highest animal, but as A WHOLE; and, as such, it finds no parallel, no resemblance, no counterpart elsewhere. All the intellectual endowments of animals are stunted, subordinate to their purely animal propensities, and improveable only within the narrowest limits. They know nothing of *intellect for intellect's own sake*. It is in them the slave of the organism, not its regent. What thought they have is for the gratification and conservation of the body. Above that it never rises. But man's intellect, however various in degree, preserves its clear identity through all the beings possessing the same physical organization. It finds no reflection of its own image from any other quarter of the visible creation. As a whole, it is unique. Its glory is its isolation by so wide a gulf from all that breathes around it. Man everywhere finds himself on a lofty pinnacle amidst the creation of God; or if not, he seeks it, by the innate ambition of his spirit, and ceases not till all things pay homage to his supremacy.

The identity of the moral nature also, though to be found under considerable varieties, is as clear and undeniable as the intellectual. Some schools have described man's mind as formed merely for moral ideality. We should prefer a less

transcendental terminology ; and would say, because it is more generally intelligible, that he possesses moral capacity, or a perception of moral relations, just as he possesses and evinces intellectual ; that this moral capacity is distinguishable enough in his own ideal consciousness, but inseparable from that consciousness when the proper relations are present and under contemplation. *Then* moral ideas are the natural and inevitable ideas. Human minds invariably produce them, under those relations which are called moral. Philosophers may dispute concerning their origination—whether they are subjective or objective, begotten in the mind only by external relations, or the self-developed progeny of the mind. It matters not. The fact is universal. There they are. Say they are purely ideal, mere creatures, or, if the metaphysician will, *dreams*, of the soul, to which nothing real pertains ; yet if there were superadded an objective reality, such, we mean, as would satisfy the metaphysician, what additional power would these moral ideas acquire over human nature ? What new force would they manifest ? These are the ideas most potent and sacred in every human mind. They cannot be effectually and permanently dislodged. Man *must* be conscious of them. They are the pivot of his happiness or his misery. And the philosophy that would persuade him that they are the dreams of his intellect, must equally persuade him that all else are dreams. And if such things are called dreams, the world may contentedly leave the philosophers to be corrected by their own experience. To the rest of the world they will always constitute the highest reality of life. If these are dreams, then let the sages who call them such, show the world what it is to be awake. If it is to be free from them, then none are awake. Nature is too strong for such philosophy. Produce the human being that is destitute of all such ideas ; that does not recognise them as realities ; that never was conscious of them ; that cannot be made to appreciate them, or that ever did or could nullify their influence upon the conduct of life, however he may have endeavoured to reason them out of their authority. Or let those philosophers who deem other men dreamers, produce the history that records the existence of a race, or even of the individual, bearing the human shape, endowed with the intellectuality, yet destitute of the moral sensibility or capacity common to all the tribes of men. All know that it cannot be done ; for if the intellectual identity be universally preserved in connexion with the physical, so is the moral with the intellectual. The moral capacity always develops itself conjointly with the mental faculties. It grows with their growth. It is inseparable from the consciousness of natural and social relations.

Its centre and fountain seems to be the consciousness of dependent existence. The conception of absolute independence cannot be entertained. The idea of moral obligation has its cause in the constitution of the mind. It is inseparable from consciousness, and the human mind is never found without it. It is not an adjunct or a circumstance, or the effect of any circumstance. We cannot conceive of circumstances producing a nature, however they may shape or misshape it. It is the great law of our constitution that this shall be, or is, essentially, primarily, originally, and universally, a *moral nature*. It is discernible in the lowest, indelible in all. Nothing can alter it, prevent it, or endanger it.

Moreover, it cannot be denied, nor concealed, that this capacity of conceiving of moral obligation, is the highest and most perfect endowment of human nature. No nature of which we can conceive, can transcend this type. Its highest cultivation is the perfection of man. It belongs exclusively, at least in this world, to the being described as made in God's image. No other living being manifests this development, or any promptings towards it; any capacity for it, or any semblance of it. Then this can be no accident of man, no circumstance that might or might not be, or be otherwise. It is his nature. It is characteristic—that which makes him man. It is in us, in us all; and cannot, by any conceivable possibility, be obliterated or counteracted. Imagine it gone, and man ceases to be man. Neither his form nor his intellect would answer to the image of God; but his moral nature, however mutilated, corresponds to the high original from which he came, and the perfect standard to which he was conformed. It is the condition of all moral government, the basis of all law. But if so, it presents the noblest department of our entire constitution. It is the connecting link between the created and the Creator, between the finite and the infinite. It is the sublimation of creature existence: the subtlest and most ethereal bond of dependence. It is, moreover, the realization of the highest possible idea of law. No conception of government can transcend this; for it is the subordination both of animal and intellectual power to the consciousness of moral obligation—and that to a power above all, and from which all beings, powers, and laws, in all their gradations, proceed. It is governed by conscious volition, regulated only by the conception of a superior volition, which is perceived to have a reasonable right to the supreme authority it claims and exercises. Here is found the law of laws.

Now this identity of the moral nature is verified throughout the whole extent of humanity, by a discrimination, acknowledged

both theoretically and practically, among the actions of men, as proceeding from commendable or blameable intentions. Social law assumes it as its authority; aims to express it, and to give it the sanction of the public will. But even where the moral nature does not reveal itself in positive law, as in the very lowest and most degenerate states of our nature, it becomes both palpable and authoritative in some other way. It finds interpreters, and enacts its sanctions. As soon, however, as society advances into anything deserving the name of civilization and order, then the natural tendency to moral distinctions develops itself, in its various efforts to determine and define moral obligations, and to sustain them by appropriate sanctions. It aims at a higher good through moral and social rule. Hence the doctrine of rewards and punishments becomes the issue to which all moral judgments point. A moral nature must culminate in some such theory. Its idea of moral government is incomplete and powerless without it. We might, therefore, fairly expect to find it among the earliest efforts of human speculation. Moreover, we might anticipate that, however varied laws and their sanctions might be, however different men's conceptions of what ought to be the future rewards of good actions, or punishments of bad ones, yet still the doctrine itself would uniformly accompany their moral nature, characterizing it as much and as clearly as the erect posture, or the gift of speech. Accordingly, fact and history fully corroborate this anticipation. Nations the most distant and disconnected in time, locality, and civilization, have entertained the doctrine, and incorporated it with their vivid though often fantastical and absurd imaginations of a future life. Reason or intellect alone would, perhaps, never have indulged that conception of a future life, but for its connexion with a moral nature. It never could have been ascertained as a fact, and could hardly have been inferred from bare, abstract consciousness of being. But when the moral nature is developed, then the future life presents itself as the necessary complement of moral rule; for, if rewards and punishments are inseparable from such government, and, *à fortiori*, from the highest and most perfect, then a future life of the mind, or a continued life out of the body, becomes inevitable to the entireness of the doctrine; since it is undeniable that these sanctions are constantly broken off and defeated in this life. Retribution is only in part effected. Some of nature's moral laws enforce and execute themselves. They then become prophetic, and point to futurity. Every one knows that it required not the teaching of revelation proper to stimulate the human mind everywhere, and through all time, into various and perpetual speculations upon the nature of the future life. Distinctions of virtuous and vicious actions, responsibility, free-

will, fate, immortality, conjectures upon the places and the forms of eternal reward or suffering, together with the evidence of each and all of these, constituted the leading questions of nearly all ancient speculation. Whatever was the system of religious worship, the reasoning of the worshipper always pointed to, and often discussed with great ability and no little subtlety, these subjects. None of these were new questions when Moses commenced his pedagogy, nor when Christ commissioned his apostles to teach all nations. Most of them had been debated before Noah entered into his ark. They were old as human nature itself, which had never lost its interest in them, and propension towards them, even when it had lost the light by which alone it could read them. They were regularly as well as early debated in every school of philosophy from Egypt to China, and from Babylon and Nineveh to Athens and Rome. The forms and the terms, the theories and the arguments, varied according to the genius, the habits, and the civilization of the people; but the radical ideas were assumed in all. They were coins of different value, different metal, and different dies, but from the same mint; they authenticated the deep-seated conviction or consciousness of moral government, and a moral nature, which everywhere wrought in the mind, and fretted after certainty, distinctness, and authority. They were ideas that men felt to be the fountains of social order, inseparable from it, and essential alike to self-government, heroism, philanthropy, friendship, commerce, and whatever else embellishes and ennobles human life.

From the ancient schools, when Christianity appeared and attracted attention, these ideas and theories were transferred to the church, mixed themselves up with its controversies, and became implicated with the defence of Christianity itself. Wherever the evidences of divine inspiration produced conviction, its dogmatic instruction upon these and all collateral topics was, of course, implicitly received; controversy so far ceased, and settled down into calm belief: but where reason still stood upon its supposed rights, and refused to bow to the yoke of Christ and his apostles, the debates still continued; the controversies of ancient days revived; the same questions returned with tenfold urgency; for Christianity infused new life into the moral nature of all. But the difficulties attendant upon the ancient moral theories took altogether a new form. They were no longer the difficulties and doubts with which a bewildered and benighted intellect was bound and doomed to grapple in the state of infirmity and obscurity it had brought upon itself. No longer the burden of its own dark thoughts, but the armoury from whence it drew weapons and missiles against the innovators; and then the whole stock of controversial philosophy passed into

the form of objection to the new morality and theology. The most hostile schools and parties combined to cast them as difficulties in the way of Christianity. The Academy and the Porch, Epicureans and Stoics, Pharisees and Sadducees, united in this warfare. It was cheap, and they had practised it against each other.

The consequence was a sharp and long war of attack and defence, in which the philosophers of all schools assailed Christianity, as if it were obliged to explain all their difficulties, solve all their previous dilemmas, and remove every objection to its own dogmas which they could hunt out of their old philosophies. But Christianity had no such mission to the world. It stood on higher ground. It assumed general principles, asserted primary and grand truths only. It professed not to elucidate all the theories of speculative philosophy, nor to satisfy the uneasy reason of the inquisitive, with a full solution of the mystery of man. It came to shed its benedictions upon the heart, to pour its oil and wine into the wounded Samaritan; and it accomplished the high behest, though beset by a host of objectors. The singleness of its aim and the benevolence of its object were overlooked or disregarded by the philosophers. Its genius was too heavenly for such wranglers. In them the critic, or the sophist, or the disputer, had absorbed the *man*.

To a certain extent this spirit still survives. Christianity is, by many, expected to make all things plain. The difficulties of human reason are made its difficulties. If the oracle does not answer all questions, it is no oracle to them. But Christianity fulfils its own professions. It takes the moral nature of man as all men find it; and it offers its remedy. It adopts or sanctions human nature's own doctrine of a future life, its own convictions or consciousness of immortality, its own anticipation of future rewards and punishments. It confirms the general truths by its authority, and reveals the issues of the system. It does not condescend to prove or argue them. But it leaves its disciples to discuss the details; warning them, however, not to trench upon its authority, nor tamper with its principles. It is the proper province of revelation not to supersede reason, but to supply its deficiencies, and lead it to those ultimate truths which it could not otherwise have reached. We have no right to demand of it a solution of the whole stock of questions, which have been debated in all the schools of philosophy from the dawn of civilisation to the present age, and which would still remain anxious and perpetual subjects of inquiry, if Christianity were to be obliterated. It is the claim, and the just claim of Christianity, that its decisions upon all these questions shall be admitted as final, upon its own authority exclusively, in every case where reason detects no ab-

surdity, and perceives no contradiction ; and more especially in the case of future punishments, where reason had previously arrived at the same conclusion, and taught substantially the same doctrine, upon grounds of its own, and to an extent which, the more it is considered, must appear the more surprising.

The difficulties, then, whatever they may be, attending the entire theory of moral government, pertain more properly to natural religion than to revelation ; because they are found to have arisen in the human mind, independently of revelation, and prior to its discoveries. Christianity may or may not have explained and solved them. It was not its proper business to do so. It was not peremptory that it should do so, before propounding its remedial system, for the sake of which alone it was commissioned to instruct the world.

Dr. Hamilton has very ably and satisfactorily treated this part of his subject. One short extract will put the reader in possession of his views upon it. He says :—

‘Receiving *nature*, in its largest sense, as an earlier revelation, the author has mainly addressed himself to the *à priori* treatment of the subject. Thus, if the removal of any scripture testimony be demanded, because of its imputed contradiction to *natural* demonstration,—he has throughout his entire argument rejoined upon it. He has endeavoured to prove that nature brings no relief by suggesting any alternative. According to its decisions, even to the apprehensions of sense, moral agents are happy or miserable, just as are the qualities of their agency. Moreover, it must follow that it can only be right so to make them happy or miserable. If these qualities of such agents be permanent, thus permanent must be their happiness or misery. To the dark boundary-line of death, we trace the equal permanency of their character, of conduct, and of their award. No *known* treatment of these agents, consequently, is at variance with these actual results. Whatever *can be ascertained* coincides. It is *always so*, to the best of our knowledge and experience. The difficulty may be only thrown back,—but it now presses upon the impugnors of the scripture doctrine of future punishment. It now becomes their own.

‘The lecturer, in the confession of these common principles, felt himself warranted at every stage of the argument, to seize the analogy between nature and proper revelation. It is his reiterated urgency that the latter, in this very dispute, only follows up the former : that Christianity as a remedial system, proceeds but on the assumption of an antecedent, independent, dilemma ; and that it is perfectly irresponsible for it.’—Pref. p. viii.

This passage will appropriately introduce the first lecture, which is devoted to an examination of the spiritual, responsible, and immortal nature of man, deduced from himself. The most important portion of this lecture, viewed, at least, in reference

to modern discussions, relates to the question of immortality, as the essential property of the human spirit. In sifting the evidences which have frequently been urged, the author admits that many of them cannot be considered as direct and adequate proofs, but are to be viewed rather as confirmatory and accordant facts, indispensable, if the spirit of man be immortal, but, of themselves, insufficient proofs of it. His main proof he derives from the essential nature of man as the subject of moral government, and that government requiring a future life for its consummation. He then argues, that in the absence of all positive evidence that the future life is to be limited, man's own consciousness, his natural anticipations of reward or punishment, the promptings of his spirit, his hope and his fear, his very passion for immortality, supply, apart from revelation, firm ground for the universal belief of immortality. He then shows that confirmations of this belief are to be derived from many other quarters; all things comport with it; nothing contradicts it; while many of these facts and circumstances can never be made to comport with the physical mortality of the human spirit.

After ably summing up the evidence of immortality, he thus notices the modern revival of an opinion long since propounded, but utterly discarded by all sound and comprehensive thinkers.

‘ There is a speculation, to which we may just advert, concerning the immortality of man. It regards this as conditionally bestowed or withheld. Some of the ancient theories forerun it. The doctrine is that man may, or may not be, immortal, according to certain moral terms. It is itself a reward, and its denial is a punishment. Now, in investigating the truth of immortality, we could not overlook this statement. Nothing can be more fallacious or self-inconsistent. Reward and punishment are contingents. The nature of him upon whom they pass remains the same. They may respect, they cannot change, it. Immortality cannot be mere reward, or its loss mere punishment, through the means and capacity for it, for that would constitute a difference of being. In a nature created only perishing, there can be no physical power to become immortal. But if created immortal, then immortality cannot be the reward of obedience, for it would exist without it: and its abscission cannot be punishment, but escape from it, seeing it was in the creature's original nature that the sin was committed, and the forfeiture was incurred. Besides, there are serious objections to any supposition that nature's physical constitutions can be reversed. They are seen by us through all their types, to be insuppressible. However we torture them, they cannot be eradicated. For perishable nature to become immortal, or for immortal nature to become perishable, contradicts all we learn from the counterparts and analogies of the

creation, and, therefore, equally opposes all we infer of the consistency of Him 'in whom we have our being.'

'And the immortal life which pagan reason contemplated was not vague and inactive—it was retributive. There virtue found its reward, and wickedness its punishment. When the Grecian and the Latin bards caused their heroes to descend by the Kimmerian portal, or by the Cumean gate, into the Erebus of their mythology, they beheld the bowers and groves of those who were renowned for excellence, the blest: and, the instruments as well as the conditions of punishment, to which the reprobate were doomed. The patriarchs of philosophy descanted, in like manner, upon the happiness or misery of the future state. It may be said, that the common poetry of the age moulded its philosophy. Then whence was the poetry inspired? It is not of this mighty art to invent opinion and usage; it can but cast back their images on mankind, in colours of its own. It calls into existence, or commands into combination, the forms and types of sentiment; it were not only to transgress its bound, but to lose its power, did it attempt any realms but those of imagination—that law of mind which must not desert, in all its parables and allegories, the substance of what is known and real—which can only reflect, though with diffused rays, what actually exists—which can only give its pomp to history, and its intensity to truth! Whatever be its flights, the poetry to which the column is due, is but the picture of a common conception, the sublimation of the popular sentiment and belief. And, if poetry tinged the ancient philosophy, it did not give it legend and machinery. It might embellish it with beauty. But what is so beautiful as reason? It was reason which prevailed.'—p. 77—80.

In the second lecture, the author proceeds to expound the law and government of responsible agents. It is an admirable summary of natural theology, shewing how all its admitted and indisputable principles coalesce with the peculiar doctrines of the Christian revelation. Herein the foundations of moral science are firmly laid. They cannot be shaken; and we hesitate not to pronounce the argument unanswerable. It may provoke quibbles from those who dispute the reality of any such thing as natural religion; but persons who presume to build up revelation without it, are not the men who will attempt to answer Dr. Hamilton; or if they did ——? And certainly none of clearer and longer sight will.

The third lecture is a continuation of the great subject opened towards the close of the previous one, 'The Harmony of Revelation with Natural Religion,'—shewing how the former has appropriated and identified all the moral theorems of reason, *worked out*, so to say, in the latter. It is a masterly outline of this most interesting subject, and a *study* for divines of every class—the result of great research and deep thinking. It will repay reading more than once. The following passage will

give a clue to the train of argumentation which is pursued with consummate ability throughout this lecture.

‘Revelation having appropriated and identified all the moral theorems of reason,—the great truths, the first principles, taught by the light of nature, by the constitution of mind, by the administration of Providence,—having raised its peculiar and exclusive discoveries upon them, might have been absolved from any blame of deficiency, had it assumed them silently as matters already proved. But not satisfied to leave the possibility of mistake, it retraces their outline—often dim, sometimes effaced—in more than its original vividness, because, in its infinite mercy, it charges itself with a remedy which can only be shewn necessary, and rendered availing, by the demonstration of human apostacy, and, of consequence, by an exhibition of the law by which apostacy can alone be demonstrated. It supposes a universal law, because it contemplates in mankind ‘the children of disobedience.’ It supposes guilt and penalty, because it addresses mankind, as ‘children of wrath.’ This law is but one, though its copies were not equally clear. This guilt and penalty were but one, though their degrees largely varied in aggravation. The Jew had received the recapitulated law,—precise, and full, and cogent,—‘the form of knowledge and of truth.’ The less favoured Gentile was left to explore a wider volume, but being more diffuse, less distinct and emphatic. The Israelites had learnt its general features before they received their special code; but there was transcendant advantage in such digest, defining their ideas, and affecting their sensibilities. The Gentiles were not abandoned without instruction and impression, but in a more uncompact shape. They often cherished the most beautiful refinements of sentiment, the most analytic ideas of obligation. Among many of them the grosser and more monstrous vices were not only denounced—they were ‘not so much as named among them.’ The stern fact is declared concerning both: ‘There is no difference; for all have sinned and come short of the glory of God.’ The gospel clears its immediate, urgent, way to this conviction of universal liability to punishment, that it may sound forth its pardon and its peace. In the same manner of eager haste, it determines the invariableness of the enmity of the human heart to holy good, that it may at once put into operation its power to renew it.

‘And we now pursue the inquiry, whether those great characteristics of man, and whether those main instruments of retribution, which we think have been proved to exist, do actually enter into the ground-idea of revelation? For, since we have deemed it most important to learn whether the primary universal law be recognized by it, it is equally imperative to ascertain whether it regards our nature, we will not say truly, for the bare notion of alternative, having assumed its divinity, would be offensively profane; but whether it regards our nature as we think, after our most careful estimate, that it is just and necessary to regard it ourselves.’—pp. 132—134.

The author's next stage obviously arising out of the developed harmony of revelation and natural religion, brings us to the 'Nature and Rewardableness of Christian Virtue.' It is an admirable summary of all that is taught by revelation on this important topic, and its harmony with right reason is forcibly shewn. But we cannot make room for extract. It is a treatise characterized by exquisite discrimination—acute, comprehensive, and powerful. The issues are then pursued. The alternatives are exhibited. 'The Heavenly State,' is the subject of the fifth lecture, and 'Future Punishment,' in its nature, design, and duration, occupies the sixth, seventh, and eighth.

The author first argues that moral government supposes possible defection, and that this necessitates punishment. Man is shown to be under condemnation. The nature and duration of this condemned state, may be argued from the constitution of man. Suffering, with one or two allowed exceptions, must be penal—self-infliction. Punishment not restricted to this—not intended to exercise corrective influence—its only relation is to justice—justice must enforce its character and its conception of sin. No benefit of the atonement except to those who are under its moral influence. Objections are then considered. The principles of man's nature as spiritual, responsible, and immortal, are applied to the duration of future punishment, as necessarily following that nature. The subject is first treated irrespective of revelation.

Dr. Hamilton next proceeds to apply those principles of human nature which serve as instruments of moral government—the force of habit—character—calculation of the consequences of every moral act and emotion. It is then shown that upon the supposition of a moral nature, God himself could not prevent the consequence of sin, but by a mechanical omnipotence which might destroy that nature, but could not control its working, without annulling its responsibility. The remainder of this lecture may be pointed out as the most forcible and satisfactory portion of the entire work. It places the doctrine affirmed on an impregnable rock. We suspect few will feel inclined when they have carefully perused it, to assail its reasonings.

The seventh lecture is chiefly occupied with an examination of the scriptural terms employed to express the place and duration of punishment. It is very satisfactory, and sweeps away much of the feeble and attenuated criticism which has so often been employed upon this subject, and of which modern times have witnessed a temporary revival. The hand of a master is here. The scope and object of scripture phraseology are seized and made obvious; whereas mere verbal criticism quibbles at every thing, but settles nothing.

The eighth and last lecture is devoted to the examination of various speculations which have been set up to invalidate the scripture doctrine. Some considerations have been offered, to show that future punishment may be endurable; these are intended to soften its severity. Then comes the necessarian perfectibility or optimism—the hypothetical withdrawment of immortality from man—the conjecture of destruction or annihilation! From this lecture we select one passage as appropriate to some modern theories.

‘There are other opinions which do not so much assail the doctrine of ceaseless punishment, as question the immortality of the creatures on whom it might be devolved; some rejecting the proper immortality of man, and supposing that punishment consists in physical death, some maintaining that the punishment consists in the definitive withdrawment of that proper immortality.

‘All may not be prepared for this sudden turn of objection. It comes upon them as very bold to deny the immortality of man. But we have forewarned it. Our argument has not been heedless. We have in previous stages endeavoured to establish it. That anticipative proof we now apply. And if man be not physically immortal, if immortality be not a physical constituent and determination of his being,—not his appanage, but his nature—we may inquire how can its forfeiture be penal? Until he sinned, according to this hypothesis, he was only mortal, or, not to imply death, a being who must, at some period or other, cease to exist, unless a sovereign, supernatural, increment be conferred upon him. If he sinned, this was his term of being; if he obeyed, he should be made immortal. We must remember what his real nature is alleged to be: it is determinable: that tendency may be morally allowed, or morally counter-vailed. The punishment falls within the nature: but since the reward exceeds it, the nature is to be enhanced by a new physical property. Now it will be seen that punishment is not dealt in any strict sense upon the man. It descends not upon his nature. After sin, his nature, as determinable, is only what it was before. There is withholdment, but of nothing which was ever his. There is a failure of what was a possible happiness, but not any infliction of harm or hurt upon himself. An inheritance is diverted, but he was never heir. It is loss, but only of an adventitious prize. This cannot be the philosophy of retribution. It reckons nothing upon the present and the past. The worst predicament of the sinner is only according to the natural conditions of his existence!

‘We have, in a very early part of this argument, spoken of this shifted view of man, now perishable, now immortal. It leaves him no fixed nature. It cannot be both. The first cannot be convertible into the second. The second cannot be compressed into the first. There must be a reconstruction; a totally different nature must be created, for a creature, whose being is appointed to be short, in order that he may acquire a capacity of endless durability. In that

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The seventh lecture is chiefly occupied with an examination of the scriptural terms employed to express the place and duration of punishment. It is very satisfactory, and sweeps away much of the feeble and attenuated criticism which has so often been employed upon this subject, and of which modern times have witnessed a temporary revival. The hand of a master is here. The scope and object of scripture phraseology are seized and made obvious; whereas mere verbal criticism quibbles at every thing, but settles nothing.

The eighth and last lecture is devoted to the examination of various speculations which have been set up to invalidate the scripture doctrine. Some considerations have been offered, to show that future punishment may be endurable; these are intended to soften its severity. Then comes the necessarian perfectibility or optimism—the hypothetical withdrawment of immortality from man—the conjecture of destruction or annihilation! From this lecture we select one passage as appropriate to some modern theories.

‘There are other opinions which do not so much assail the doctrine of ceaseless punishment, as question the immortality of the creatures on whom it might be devolved; some rejecting the proper immortality of man, and supposing that punishment consists in physical death, some maintaining that the punishment consists in the definitive withdrawment of that proper immortality.

‘All may not be prepared for this sudden turn of objection. It comes upon them as very bold to deny the immortality of man. But we have forewarned it. Our argument has not been heedless. We have in previous stages endeavoured to establish it. That anticipative proof we now apply. And if man be not physically immortal, if immortality be not a physical constituent and determination of his being,—not his appanage, but his nature—we may inquire how can its forfeiture be penal? Until he sinned, according to this hypothesis, he was only mortal, or, not to imply death, a being who must, at some period or other, cease to exist, unless a sovereign, supernatural, increment be conferred upon him. If he sinned, this was his term of being; if he obeyed, he should be made immortal. We must remember what his real nature is alleged to be: it is determinable: that tendency may be morally allowed, or morally counter-vailed. The punishment falls within the nature: but since the reward exceeds it, the nature is to be enhanced by a new physical property. Now it will be seen that punishment is not dealt in any strict sense upon the man. It descends not upon his nature. After sin, his nature, as determinable, is only what it was before. There is withholdment, but of nothing which was ever his. There is a failure of what was a possible happiness, but not any infliction of harm or hurt upon himself. An inheritance is diverted, but he was never heir. It is loss, but only of an adventitious prize. This cannot be the philosophy of retribution. It reckons nothing upon the present and the past. The worst predicament of the sinner is only according to the natural conditions of his existence!

‘We have, in a very early part of this argument, spoken of this shifted view of man, now perishable, now immortal. It leaves him no fixed nature. It cannot be both. The first cannot be convertible into the second. The second cannot be compressed into the first. There must be a reconstruction; a totally different nature must be created, for a creature, whose being is appointed to be short, in order that he may acquire a capacity of endless durability. In that

case the identity would cease, and the responsibility along with it. One nature would be the subject of the virtue; the other would be the subject of the reward. So, likewise, on the moral inversion. If this opinion be embraced to relieve the Divine conduct of any apparent austerity, we must affirm our impression that it increases it. There is a distinction immediately felt between what a lawgiver directly and indirectly does. His interposition to punish is far more harsh than his permission of the legal course of punishment. If man be immortal, he must be accordingly treated. Righteousness owes this to him. If not, then his life should determine at its proper limit. This, also, seems the claim of righteousness. Any renewal or prolongation of it is preternatural. If renewed or prolonged against its nature, for the very purpose of inflicting suffering, we confess to a shrinking from so unwonted a measure. This transposition of nature cannot be righteous; nor can this violent treatment of either nature be so, seeing that it is in opposition to the nature itself. If man has died, why does not that event, agreeably to the case supposed, agreeably, though unaccountably in our idea, to the sentence of mortality—suffice? He was not, it is alleged, naturally immortal, and the contingent immortality is forfeited. But then the probable course is interrupted. Whether the soul, in this conjecture, be remitted to sleep with the body we are not aware. In the resurrection each, at least, revives. Man lives again. Why is he recovered to being? For suffering, insalutary and hopeless, except in the termination of the sufferer's being? Is this the amiable alternative to our sterner faith? Is not this the stretch of law? Is not this gratuitous infliction?'—pp. 436—439.

But here we must terminate our observations and extracts. Dr. Hamilton has given to the public a work of consummate ability, and of inestimable value. It has more of his characteristic excellencies, and fewer of his blemishes than any other production of his pen. It cannot fail to produce a deep and powerful impression, and to supply a timely bulwark to the evangelic theology. With some slight allowance, which we feel obliged to make, for peculiarities of diction, and sometimes of thought, we most cordially and earnestly commend this work to the serious perusal of our readers. But we caution all to read it through, and, if they hesitate upon any passages or arguments, to read again. There is matter for deep reflection in every page. A greater work on theology our country has not produced in the present age. Any evangelic church might feel an honest pride in possessing so scriptural, discriminating, and powerful an advocate of the truth. Long may he continue the ornament of his own denomination, and the friend of all others that maintain the great and common salvation.

ART. II.—*The Birds of Jamaica.* By Philip Henry Gosse ; assisted by Richard Hill, Esq., of Spanish-town. pp. 447. London : Van Voorst, 1847.

JAMAICA is considerably less in extent than the county of Yorkshire. Its width averages only about forty miles, and its length is about a hundred and fifty. But the island, notwithstanding its small size, presents many attractions to the naturalist. Its varied scenery furnishes habitations for a great diversity of species. To the east of the island, the range of hills, called the Blue Mountains, extend for miles, and rise to the height of from five thousand to seven thousand feet above the level of the sea. A considerable portion of this mountain region is covered with dense forests, displaying all the luxuriance of tropical vegetation. Shrubs in great variety, whose intertwining branches have thickened for ages, choke up the mountain passes, and render the woods almost impenetrable ; whilst, towering in the midst of the forest, are seen the cedars, the palms, the breadnut, and the still more gigantic cotton-trees. The branches of all the trees, from the largest to the smallest, are thickly covered with mosses, or are overgrown with parasites, whose fantastic shapes and hanging flowers clothe the naked boughs, and add to the rich profuseness of the vegetation. These solitary woods, the dark and damp recesses of which are seldom disturbed by human footsteps, are the chosen habitations of many rare and interesting birds.

In the valleys, the grassy savannahs, or natural pasture-grounds, stretch for miles in park-like beauty, diversified with flowery hedge-rows and shrubby thickets. In these districts, many of the insessorial birds are met with, whose sweet notes, varied plumage, and sprightly habits, attract the attention and reward the zeal of the naturalist.

Most parts of the island are well watered with numerous rivers and streams, where various kinds of gaulins, herons, and bitterns, may be seen silently watching for their finny prey. To the west, the plains of Savanna la Mar, and the Pedro Plains, are covered over to a great extent with immense swamps and morasses, which are tenanted by a large variety of snipes, rails, ducks, and other water birds.

The sea-coast, also, has its peculiar denizens. The elegant red flamingoes are occasionally seen ; and pelicans, boobies, frigate-birds, and gulls, are abundant. About sixty miles south of the western end of the island are the Pedro Kays, or islets, and upon these lonely rocks sea-fowl congregate in immense multi-

tudes. 'As soon as visitors land, myriads of birds are upon the wing in all directions. Some flocks rise, in circling flight, high up into the air; and descending again in the same dense numbers as they rose, settle in more remote places: others break away hurriedly, and fly in a wide sweep far around, but return again hastily to the rocks they had quitted, reconciled to bear with the disturbance. The turmoil and hubbub of the thousands of birds thus suddenly put upon the wing overpower, for a moment, the roar of the breakers, and darken the air like the sudden passing of a cloud.'

Such are some of the characteristics of the region to which Mr. Gosse introduces his readers. It is full of interest to the ornithologist, and we are glad that the biography of its varied and beautiful feathered tribes has fallen into the hands of so able an observer as the author of the volume before us. We anticipate that his graphic and pleasing descriptions will render the habits of the 'Birds of Jamaica' familiar to many English readers, and will be highly valued by all field naturalists.

A few species, only, of birds of prey are met with in Jamaica. Of these, perhaps the best known is the turkey vulture (*cathartes aura*), which renders great service by removing carrion and other offal. Our readers may probably recollect the amusing controversy respecting the power possessed by these birds of discovering their food, which occurred a few years since between Audubon, the celebrated American ornithologist, and Charles Waterton, the kind-hearted but eccentric wanderer. Mr. Audubon contended that the vultures discovered their food solely by means of their powers of sight, whilst Mr. Waterton no less strongly urged that it was by their sense of smell alone that they were directed in their search for carrion. Mr. Hill, of Jamaica, to whom Mr. Gosse has been indebted for much valuable information, has furnished an account of the habits of the turkey vulture, from which we are led to believe that the belligerent ornithologists, in the controversy above alluded to, resembled the knights of old in their famous combat about the two sides of the shield. Mr. Hill says:—

'Those who ascribe the power which the vulture possesses, of discerning from a distance its carrion food, to the sense of seeing or to the sense of smelling, *exclusively*, appear to me to be both in error. It is the two senses, exerted sometimes singly, but generally unitedly, which give the facility which it possesses of tracing its appropriate food from far distances. I shall relate one or two occurrences which seem to me to be instances in which the sense of seeing and the sense of smelling were sometimes separately and sometimes unitedly exerted by the vulture in its quest for food.

'A poor German immigrant who lived alone in a detached cottage

in this town [Spanish Town], rose from his bed after a two days' confinement by fever, to purchase in the market some fresh meat for a little soup. Before he could do more than prepare the several ingredients of herbs and roots, and put his meat in water for the preparation of his pottage, the paroxysm of fever had returned, and he laid himself on his bed exhausted. Two days elapsed in this state of helplessness and inanition; by which time the mass of meat and pot-herbs had putrified. The stench becoming very perceptible, vulture after vulture as they sailed past, were observed always to descend to the cottage of the German, and to sweep round as if they had tracked some putrid carcase, but failed to find exactly where it was. This led the neighbours to apprehend that the poor man lay dead in his cottage. His door was broken open; he was found in a state of helpless feebleness, but the room was most insufferably offensive from something putrifying which could not be immediately found, for the fever having deprived the German of his wits, he had no recollection of his uncooked mess of meat and pot-herbs. At last, the pot-lid was lifted, and the cause of the insupportable stench discovered in the corrupted soup-meat.

'Here we have the sense of smelling directing the vultures without any assistance from the sense of sight, and discovering unerringly the locality of the animal matter, when even the neighbours were at fault in their patient search.

'Some few days succeeding this occurrence, after a night and morning of heavy rain, in which our streets had been inundated to the depth of a foot, and flood after flood had been sweeping to the river the drainage of the whole town,—a piece of recent offal had been brought down from some of the yards where an animal had been slaughtered, and lodged in the street. A vulture beating about in search of food, dashed in a slanting direction from a considerable height, and just resting, without closing his wings, snatched up the fresh piece of flesh, and carried it off.

'Here was the sense of sight unassisted by that of smelling, for the meat was too recent to communicate any taint to the morning air, and the vulture stooped to it from a very far distance.

'On another occasion very near to the time when these facts attracted my notice, a dead rat had been thrown out, early in the morning, into the street, having been caught in the previous night. Two vultures sailing over head in quest of a morning meal, descended at the same time, stooping to the dead rat, the one from the south, the other from the north, and both seized the object of attraction at the same moment.

'Here again was the vision unaided by the sensitiveness of the nostrils, directing two birds with the same appetite, at the same moment, to the same object.'—pp. 2—4.

We are satisfied that Mr. Hill's theory is the correct one. Mr. Audubon's experiments and Mr. Waterton's facts alike go to prove it. The vulture has both eyes and 'nose,' and no doubt

makes the most use it can of those faculties. We must, however, do Mr. Waterton the justice to say that, in our opinion, he had decidedly the best of the argument, inasmuch as the principal food of the vultures consists of carrion; and there is ample evidence to show that, in the discovery of tainted meat, these birds are *mainly* indebted to their olfactory organs. But they do not feed exclusively upon carrion, and here is the weak point in Mr. Waterton's argument. In the amusing paper upon the 'Faculty of Scent in the Vulture,' originally published in 'Loudon's Magazine,' and afterwards reprinted in the first series of the 'Essays on Natural History,' Mr. Waterton says:—'Were you to kill a fowl, and place it in the yard with the live ones, it would remain there unnoticed as long as it was sweet; but as soon as it became offensive, you would see the *vultur aura* approach it, and begin to feed upon it, or carry it away, without showing any inclination to molest the other fowls which might be basking in the neighbourhood.' This may be true, as the vulture might not distinguish between the dead fowl and the others lying motionless basking on the ground, and his structure is not, like that of the falcons, adapted for pouncing upon living prey; but Mr. Waterton is certainly not justified in drawing from it the inference that the vulture will refuse recent flesh, when placed within his reach. Some of the facts stated by Mr. Hill in the extract above given prove the contrary, and Mr. Gosse also supplies additional evidence of a similar character. He asserts that the turkey vulture will seize upon a weakling young pig when apart from the rest, and will kill it by a severe gripe across the back. Cases have occurred, in which large hogs, and even cattle lying in a sickly or dying condition, have been attacked, and have had their eyes torn out by these birds; and Mr. Gosse relates an instance where a dog, having gorged itself with carrion, was sleeping under a tree, when a turkey vulture descended upon it, and began tearing the muscles of the thigh. The bird had actually laid open a considerable space before the poor dog was aroused by the pain from its stupor, and started up with a howl of agony. The wound was so severe that, although dressed, it soon after caused the death of the animal.

The red-tailed buzzard (*buteo borealis*) is the most common bird of prey in Jamaica. It remains in the island during the whole year, and may frequently be seen sailing in wide circles over the pasture grounds, or soaring into the air in ascending revolutions, until its form is lost amidst the brightness of the tropical sky. Mr. Gosse mentions, that a friend of his once observed a red-tailed buzzard fly out of its nest accompanied by two young ones, which were apparently making a trial of their wings on their first excursion. After one of the young birds had

flown a short way, and was beginning to flutter downwards, the parent was seen to fly beneath it, and present her back and wings for its support. It is not certain that the young one actually rested upon the back of the old bird, but its confidence was probably restored by seeing support so near, and it managed to reach a neighbouring tree. The other little one, invited by its parent, in like manner tried its infant wings, and was attended with equal affection. Mr. Gosse reminds his readers, that this remarkable occurrence furnishes a pleasing illustration of the passage in scripture:—‘As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, *beareth them on her wings*; so the Lord alone did lead him, and there was no strange God with him.’ (Deut. xxxii. 12; compare Exod. xix. 4.)

The raptorial birds, notwithstanding their great strength, and the dangerous weapons with which they are provided, for predatory warfare, have frequently to submit to the annoying attacks of lesser species. The petcharies (*tyrannus*) are often seen tormenting the hawk or the vulture. Their habits, in this respect, are well described by Mr. Hill, who gives an account of a pair of petcharies which had taken possession of a very lofty cocoa-nut tree in the neighbourhood of his house.

‘Perched on this vantage-height, they scream defiance to every inhabitant around them, and sally forth to wage war on all birds that venture near. None but the swallow dares to take the circuit of their nestling tree. At a signal from one of the birds, perhaps the female, when a carrion vulture is sweeping near, or a hawk is approaching, the mate flings himself upwards in the air, and having gained an elevation equal to that of the bird he intends to attack, he starts off in a horizontal line, with nicely balanced wings, and hovering for a moment, descends upon the intruder’s back, shrieking all the while, as he sinks and rises, and repeats his attacks with vehemence. The carrion vulture that seldom courses the air but with gliding motion, now flaps his wings eagerly, and pitches downward at every stroke his assailant makes at him, and tries to dodge him. In this way he pursues him and frequently brings him to the ground.

‘The hawk is beset by all birds of any power of wing, but the boldest, and judging from the continued exertion he makes to escape, the most effective of his assailants is the petchary. It is not with feelings of contempt the hawk regards this foe:—he hurries away from him with rapid flight, and hastily seeks to gain some resting-place; but as he takes a direct course from one exposed tree to another equally ill-suited, he is seen again submitting to the infliction of a renewed visit from his pertinacious assailant, till he is constrained to soar upward, and speed away, wearied by the buffets of his adversary.’—pp. 172, 173.

Occasionally, however, this amusement terminates in no very pleasant manner for the pugnacious little bird. The hawk perches himself upon the top of some dry tree, from whence he can dart his keen glances around in the search for prey. Whilst in this position he is frequently attacked by the petchary, which continues to buffet him violently until quite exhausted by its efforts. The hawk bears the infliction with great patience, and watches his troublesome antagonist fly to some neighbouring tree to rest itself, and make preparation for a renewed assault. No sooner, however, does the petchary begin to trim its feathers, and, so occupied, forget that its dangerous enemy is near, than the hawk suddenly pounces down upon it, seizes the unwary bird in his talons, and takes ample satisfaction, in a comfortable meal, for the undignified attacks to which he had been obliged to submit.

But the most curious instance we have met with of the annoyance which quickness of flight enables a little bird to inflict upon much larger and more powerful species, is a fact recorded by Mr. Gosse, that the humming bird will occasionally chase the heron. He says, that in such encounters, 'the minuteness and arrowy swiftness of the one contrasts strangely with the expanse of wing and unwieldy motion of the other. The little aggressor appears to restrain his powers in order to annoy his adversary, dodging around him, and pecking at him like one of the small frigates of Drake, or Frobisher, peppering one of the unwieldy galleons of the ill-fated Armada.'

The food of the petcharies consists principally of insects, in the capture of which they display very great agility. At an hour or two before sunset, numbers of them may be seen in the neighbourhood of the cattle-ponds, darting with unceasing and rapid evolutions upwards and downwards, or coursing over the surface of the water, and capturing at every turn some of the insects which abound in those localities. The grey petchary, however, is not always satisfied with insect fare, but occasionally pounces down upon the humming-bird as it hovers over some attractive blossoms, and having carried it to some neighbouring branch, kills it with repeated strokes. The name of the petchary is derived from its remarkable notes, which are described by Mr. Hill as a 'ceaseless shriek,' and consist of a repetition of three or four shrill sounds, resembling the words *pecheery—pecheery—pe-chèèr-ry*.

Still more singular are the cries of the night-jars (*caprimulgidæ*), which, being uttered in the dusk of the evening, or during the stillness of night, strike upon the ear with startling effect. The notes of the best known species resemble the words *whip-poor-will*, and throughout the moon-light nights

make the woods of America resound with their oft-repeated and melancholy cadences. Some of the ignorant settlers fancy that these unearthly cries forbode misfortune, sickness, or death, whilst the poor superstitious Indians shudder as they listen to the dreaded sounds proceeding from a creature, whose nocturnal and solitary habits are sufficient, in their minds, to connect it with supernatural agency. Another of the night-jars is called the chuck-will's-widow, from its notes being thought to resemble those words. Both of these species, whose habits have been well described by the graphic pen of Alexander Wilson, are said to inhabit Jamaica, but Mr. Gosse has never met with either, and is of opinion that the potoo (*nyctibius Jamaicensis*), an allied species, has been mistaken for them. The most common night-jar met with in the island is the night-hawk (*caprimulgus Americanus*, Wils.), called also *piramidig*, from its cry, which is thought to resemble that barbarous compound of sounds,—but Mr. Gosse seems to think its notes are more like *gi' me a bit*, or *witta-wittawit*. No doubt a good deal depends upon the fancy of the hearer. Indeed, it is rather amusing to perceive what very different impressions the same notes make upon different parties. For instance, the red-eyed flycatcher (*muscapa olivacea*), according to Mr. Gosse's testimony, is constantly calling out with incessant iteration and untiring energy, the words, *sweet-John!—John-to-whit!—sweet-John-to-whit—John-t'-whit!* etc., whilst others understand it to repeat the very dissimilar cry, '*whip-Tom-Kelly*.'

The night-jars come forth from their lurking-places a little before sunset, when they may be seen darting like swallows through the air, pursuing their insect prey in swift and zig-zag flights.

'It is when the afternoon rains of the season have descended plentifully, that these birds are most numerous, and most vociferous; and they continue to fly till the twilight is beginning to fade into darkness. After this, they appear for the most part to retire, and the strange and startling voices, that before were sounding all around and above us, are rarely heard by the most attentive listening. A lad informed me that when out fishing during the night, not far from the shore, the canoe is often surrounded by bats, which make a great noise. But my assistant, Sam, who heard the statement, assured me that these were not bats, but piramidigs (with some bats, however, in the company), and that these birds, when the moon is at or near the full, continue on the wing through the night. On dark rainy days, such as we get sometimes in May, I have seen and heard two or three abroad even in the middle of the day, careering just as at nightfall.

'Early in the morning, before the grey dawn has peeped over the mountains, I have heard over the pastures of Pinnock Shafton, great

numbers of these birds evidently flying low, and hawking to and fro. Their cries were uttered in rapid succession, and resounded from all parts of the air, though it was too dark to distinguish even such as were apparently in near proximity. Now and again, the hollow booming sound, like blowing into the bung-hole of a barrel, produced at the moment of perpendicular descent, as described by Wilson, fell on my ear. The articulations or syllables, if I may so say, which make up the note, are usually four, but sometimes five, or six, uttered as rapidly as they can be pronounced, and all in the same tone.'—pp. 35—37.

The structure of the night-jars is very peculiar, and is admirably adapted for the capture of their food. Their plumage has the soft puffy unwebbed character which marks that of the owls, and which enables them to fly through the air without causing the slightest noise by the strokes of their long and powerful wings. The eyes are remarkably full and large, possessing great acuteness of vision in the dusk. But the feature that gives the most singular appearance to these birds is the enormous mouth, which is capable of wonderful expansion, and is surrounded, in most of the species, with long stiff bristles. Curiously enough, the negroes who are certainly not remarkable for having very small or elegant mouths themselves, have hit upon this feature in the night-jar as a proverbial expression of ugliness, and deem it the most severe stigma upon the personal appearance of any one to say—'Ugh! you ugly like one potoo!'

The width of gape possessed by the night-jars is of course intended to give facility for the capture of insects during their swift flight through the air, and the rictal bristles probably assist in securing the prey after it has been captured. They do not, however, appear to be so essential for this purpose as Mr. Swainson seems inclined to believe. He states that the quantity and stiffness of the bristles have a manifest relation to the size and power of the insects upon which the birds feed, and that, therefore, the swallows which capture only 'little soft insects' are destitute of these appendages. Mr. Gosse doubts the correctness of this hypothesis on the ground that the potoo, which preys upon the hardest and most rigid beetles of large size, has no true rictal bristles at all.

Gilbert White was of opinion that the night-jar caught some of its prey with its foot, and, in securing the insect, made use of the curious serrated claw with which the middle toe is provided. But the feet appear to us to be very ill adapted for this purpose, and we are quite satisfied that the mouth alone is used for the capture of insects on the wing. Wilson's opinion as to the use of the claw seems more reasonable, that it serves to

free the birds from the vermin with which they become much infested whilst reposing during the heat of the day; or, perhaps, it is simply used to free the rictal bristles from the legs of beetles which may catch there, and be difficult for the bird to displace. If the latter explanation be correct, it will account for the fact, recorded by White, that the night-jar, when on the wing, occasionally brings its foot up to its mouth.

Several species of the swallow tribe (*hirundinidæ*) are common in Jamaica, and remain there the whole year. The cave swallow (*H. pæciloma*, Gosse,) considered by Mr. Gosse to be distinct from *H. fulva*, Viell., and characterised accordingly, is remarkable on account of its ingenious nest which is generally built in the cavernous recesses along the sea-coast. One of these localities, near a precipitous rock about a mile from Bluefields, is thus described by Mr. Gosse:—

‘The foot of the cliff is girt with irregular masses of honey-combed rock, between which the incoming tide rolls, and frets, and boils, in foaming confusion; and the front is hollowed into caves, some of which are long passages with an opening at each end, and others are merely wide-mouthed, but shallow hollows. In one of these I counted forty nests of this species of swallow, each consisting of a half cup, built with little pellets of mud, retaining, in so damp a situation, and where the rock itself is covered with a slimy mouldiness, their original humidity. Each was thickly lined with silk cotton. If we imagine a pint basin divided perpendicularly through the middle, and the one-half stuck against a wall, we shall perceive the form of these nests; some, however, were both larger and deeper than this. In many instances advantage was taken of a slight hollow in the rock which increased the capacity. In one, (it was about the middle of July,) I found three eggs; in some others, the callow young; and in one, two full fledged birds, which lay quietly in the nest, side by side, while their black eyes watched my motions. The parent birds flew about in affright, occasionally coming close up to the nests, and hovering as if about to alight, but scarcely one ventured in.’—pp. 65, 66.

The green tody (*Todus viridis*) excavates for itself a chamber in the earth, where it can build its nest in secrecy. For this purpose it selects the banks of some ravine, or gully, where the mould is soft and friable, and by means of its beak and claws, digs a hole several inches deep, in the form of a winding gallery, rounded at the bottom, and terminating in a chamber sufficiently large for its purpose. Here it carries pliant fibres, and dry moss and cotton, and having comfortably furnished its ingenious habitation, the tody lays its eggs and rears its young. The feet are syndactylous, having two of the front toes united together, and although feeble, are well adapted for burrowing

in the soft earth. In this habit the todies resemble the kingfisher, but the latter species has the feet very muscular, the toes united into a broad palm, and the claws remarkably strong and sharp. With these effective instruments, the belted kingfisher (*Alcedo alcyon*) digs out a cave several feet deep in the clayey or gravelly cliffs, where it nestles in perfect security.

The green tody is very abundant in Jamaica. Its elegant plumage, quiet and inoffensive habits, and the confidence with which it allows the approach of man, have made it a general favourite. Perhaps on this account, as well as on account of its crimson-velvet gorget, which contrasts beautifully with the bright grassy-green of its back, it is popularly called the robin red-breast. The tody may often be seen sitting patiently on some twig, apparently in a state of stupid abstraction, with the head drawn in, the beak pointing upwards, and the loose plumage puffed out; but its odd looking grey eyes are glancing on every side, and no sooner is a small fly or beetle perceived, than the bird sallies forth, with feeble flight, and having snapped up its prey, returns again to its accustomed perch. Mr. Gosse remarks, with great justice, that 'it is instructive to note by how various means the wisdom of God has ordained a given end to be attained. The swallow and the tody live on the same prey, insects on the wing; and the short, hollow, and feeble wings of the latter, are as effectual to him, as the long and powerful pinions are to the swallow. He has no powers to employ in pursuing insects, but he waits till they come within his circumscribed range, and no less certainly secures his meal.'

Another, and perhaps the most interesting family of insectivorous birds found in Jamaica, are the humming-birds (*Trochilidae*). These tiny creatures, whose exquisite forms and gorgeous plumage have rendered them universal favourites, were formerly thought to subsist entirely upon the nectar of flowers; but it is now an admitted fact that their food consists principally of minute insects. This was proved by the observations of Wilson, who states that he has seen the ruby-throat (*T. colubris*) for half an hour at a time, darting at those little groups of insects which dance in the air on a fine summer evening, retiring to an adjoining twig to rest, and renewing the attack with a dexterity that sets all the other fly-catchers at defiance. And Mr. Gosse mentions having noticed the mango humming bird, just before night-fall, fluttering round the top of a tree upon which there were no blossoms, and from its motions, when hovering in a perpendicular position, he was satisfied that it was catching insects. Many small insects, also, inhabit the blossoms of flowers, and it is no doubt principally in search of these, that the humming birds probe with their long slender

tongues, the tubular nectaries. When dissected, the stomach of these birds is usually found distended with the broken fragments of minute beetles, etc. Mr. Gosse made many attempts to keep the lovely long-tailed humming-birds (*T. polytmus*) in confinement, but failed in his endeavours; as although they sipped up the sweet syrup with which he plentifully provided them, it was not sufficient to sustain them in health, and after a few days' imprisonment, the birds invariably died in consequence, as Mr. Gosse believes, of being starved to death from the want of insect food. On dissection, he found that they were excessively meagre of flesh, and that the stomach, which ordinarily is as large as a pea, and distended with insects, was shrunk to a minute collapsed membrane, discovered with difficulty. A friend of Alexander Wilson's, Mr. Coffey, of Virginia, was more fortunate with the *Trochilus colubris*, two specimens of which he kept in a cage for some months, supplying them with honey dissolved in water; but in addition to this, they fed upon the small flies and gnats that were attracted to the cage by the sweet liquor, and were snapped up, and swallowed by the humming-birds with great eagerness.

The pugnacity of the humming-bird has often been noticed, and is certainly not a very creditable trait in the character of these lovely little beings. Wilson mentions having seen one attack, and, for a few moments, tease the king-bird (*Muscicapa tyrannus*); and he had also seen it, in its turn, assaulted by a humble-bee, which, however, it soon put to flight. Mr. Gosse has recorded the particulars of a combat between two mango humming-birds, which was carried on with much pertinacity, and protracted to an unusual length. The subject of dispute appeared to be the possession of two Malay apple trees, whose branches were thickly covered with beautiful blossoms, that hung in rich profusion, 'like bunches of crimson tassels.' No doubt there was ample provision for both of the little birds, and for many more, but the one who had played around the trees for several days, was too selfish to admit a partner in his enjoyment, and therefore resisted fiercely an intruder, which, attracted by the blossoms, came flying down to the trees one morning. The combat then began:—

'They chased each other through the labyrinth of twigs and flowers, till, an opportunity occurring, the one would dart with seeming fury upon the other, and then, with a loud rustling of their wings, they would twirl together, round and round, until they nearly came to the earth. It was some time before I could see, with any distinctness, what took place in these tussles; their twirlings were so rapid as to baffle all attempts at discrimination. At length an encounter took place pretty close to me, and I perceived that the beak

of the one grasped the beak of the other, and thus fastened, both whirled round and round in their perpendicular descent, the point of contact being the centre of the gyrations, till, when another second would have brought them to the ground, they separated, and the one chased the other for about a hundred yards, and then returned in triumph to the tree, where, perched on a lofty twig, he chirped monotonously and pertinaciously for some time; I could not help thinking in defiance. In a few minutes, however, the banished one returned, and began chirping no less provokingly, which soon brought on another chase, and another tussle. In their tortuous and rapid evolutions, the light from their ruby necks would now and then flash in the sun with gem-like radiance; and as they now and then hovered motionless, the broadly expanded tail,—whose outer feathers are crimson purple, but when intercepting the sun's rays transmit orange-coloured light,—added much to their beauty. A little Banana quit, that was peeping among the blossoms in his own quiet way, seemed to look with surprise on the combatants; but when the one had driven his rival to a longer distance than usual, the victor set upon the unoffending quit, who soon yielded the point, and retired, humbly enough, to a neighbouring tree. The war, for it was a thorough campaign, a regular succession of battles, lasted fully an hour, and then I was called away from the post of observation.'—pp. 93, 94.

Not less interesting than the birds just noticed, although distinguished by very different qualities, is another denizen of the woods of Jamaica—the celebrated mocking-bird (*Orpheus polyglottus*), whose extraordinary powers of imitation have often excited the admiration and astonishment of naturalists. Alexander Wilson, in his account of this species, says, that when the mocking-bird is pouring forth his notes, 'a bystander, destitute of sight, would suppose that the whole of the feathered tribes had assembled together, on a trial of skill, each striving to produce his utmost effect, so perfect are his imitations. He many times deceives the sportsman, and sends him in search of birds that perhaps are not within miles of him, but whose notes he exactly imitates; even birds themselves are frequently imposed on by this admirable mimic, and are decoyed by the fancied calls of their mates, or dive, with precipitation, into the depth of thickets, at the scream of what they suppose to be the sparrow-hawk.' When kept in confinement, the mocking-bird imitates all the sounds about the house; the dog's bark and the cat's mewing, the crowing of cocks and the cackling of hens, and even the creaking of a passing wheelbarrow, are given with an exactness which is hardly credible. But the mocking-bird is not alone a mimic. It has powers of song of its own which are of a very high order. Like our own nightingale, it chooses the solemn stillness of the night for its sweet serenades, and,

perched on some high branch, pours forth its notes, free from mimicry, in full gushes of the most inimitable harmony.

The wanderer through the wild mountain districts of Jamaica, who penetrates into the deep and solitary recesses of the woods, where all nature, abounding in variety and profusion, seems to lie in solemn and undisturbed repose, is suddenly startled by hearing the long-drawn measured notes of a bird, whose singularly sweet modulations are borne over the forest 'like the hymn of praise of an angel.' This is the solitaire (*Muscicapa Armillata*), which, although very different from the mocking-bird, deserves scarcely less admiration. In Hayti, where the species is also met with, its habits have been observed by Mr. Hill, and are recorded by him in one of those beautiful sketches which add so much to the value and interest of Mr. Gosse's volume.

'As soon as the first indications of daylight are perceived, even while the mists hang over the forests, these minstrels are heard pouring forth their wild notes in a concert of many voices, sweet and lengthened like those of the harmonica or musical glasses. It is the sweetest, the most solemn, and most unearthly of all the woodland singing I ever heard. The lofty locality, the cloud-capt heights, to which alone the eagle soars in other countries—so different from ordinary singing-birds in gardens and cultivated fields—combine with the solemnity of the music to excite something like devotional associations. The notes are uttered slowly and distinctly, with a strangely-measured exactness. Though it is seldom that the bird is seen, it can scarcely be said to be solitary, since it rarely sings alone, but in harmony with some half-dozen chanting in the same glen. Occasionally, it strikes out into such an adventitious combination of notes, as to form a perfect tune. The time of enunciating a single note, is that of the semi-breve. The quaver is executed with the most perfect trill. It regards the major and minor cadences, and observes the harmony of counter-point, with all the preciseness of a perfect musician. Its melodies, from the length and distinctness of each note, are more hymns than songs. Though the concert of singers will keep to the same melody for an hour, each little coterie of birds chants a different song, and the traveller by no accident ever hears the same tune.'—pp. 201, 202.

In the same lonely wilds, where the sweet hymn of the solitaire is heard, the attention of the traveller is often attracted by notes of a very different character. He listens, for the sounds appear to be the harsh and guttural intonations of some savage language, and he is perhaps expecting the uncouth speaker to issue from amongst the trees, when the delusion vanishes on catching sight of a jabbering crow, perched upon the top of some immense cotton-tree, and gabbling forth its

loquacious cries. Mr. Gosse remarks, that 'all the crows are garrulous, and several are capable of tolerable imitations of human speech, but the present is the only example I am aware of, in which the language of man is resembled by a bird in a state of nature. The resemblance, however, is rather general than particular; every one who hears it is struck with its likeness to speech, though he cannot detect any known words: it is the language of a foreigner.'

The negroes, who are very fond of exercising their ingenuity in interpreting the language of birds, have been able to catch amidst the varied and harsh tones of the jabbering crow's voice, the following words, which may give some idea of the character of the whole;—'*Walk fast crab! do bukra work.—Cuttacoo better than wallet!*' A 'cuttacoo' is a negro's hand basket.

Amongst the other remarkable sounds which break the silence of the mountain forests are the coos of the doves, of which several species are found in Jamaica. These, also, to the apprehension of the negroes, resemble the utterance of human voices. The white-wing dove (*Turtur leucopterus*) is heard repeating the words,—'*Since poor Gilpin die, cow-head spoil;*'—and the white belly (*Columba Jamaicensis*) complains all day long, in the most melancholy cadences, uttered as though the bird were mournfully sobbing forth its sorrows—'*Rain-come-wet-me-through.*' The common note of the blue pigeon (*C. rufina*) somewhat resembles the barking of a cur; but perhaps the most singular, though certainly not the most agreeable, of all, is the coo of the mountain witch (*Geotrygon sylvatica* Gosse) which 'consists of two loud notes, the first short and sharp, the second protracted and descending with a mournful cadence. At a distance, its first note is inaudible; and the second, reiterated at measured intervals, sounds like the groaning of a dying man. These moans, heard in the most recluse and solemn glens, while the bird is rarely seen, have probably given it the name of the mountain-witch.' In other respects, the bird deserves a more pleasing appellation, as its plumage is very varied and extremely beautiful. Indeed, Mr. Gosse is of opinion, that with the exception of the long-tailed humming bird, the mountain-witch is the most lovely species found in the island. Its habits also are interesting, and Mr. Gosse, upon the authority of 'intelligent men very familiar with these birds,' has recorded the remarkable fact, 'that the young leave the nest about a week after they are hatched, and are led about by the mother, who scratches for them in the manner of a fowl. Some have declared that they have been eye-witnesses of this; persons who have never heard that this pigeon has any

systematic affinity to the *Gallinaceæ*.' Mr. Gosse made many inquiries respecting this fact, and found the testimony in its favour, 'very general, almost universal.'

The gallinaceous birds, to which the species, last mentioned, naturally conducts us, appear to be restricted in Jamaica to the guinea-fowl (*numida meleagris*) and the quail (*ortyx Virginiana*): both of these species were introduced one or two centuries ago, and have become perfectly naturalized. The guinea-fowls are very numerous, and do great injury to the plantations by destroying the yams and cocoas; they also scratch up seed-corn and peas. The settlers adopt various expedients to lessen the numbers of these destructive birds: the plan which has been found most effective, is to pursue them with a dog, when they immediately betake themselves to a tree, and their attention being concentrated upon the barking cur, it is easy to get within reach, and to shoot them down. Others are taken by means of corn, which, after being steeped for a night in proof rum, is placed in a shallow vessel, along with a little fresh rum, and the water expressed from a bitter casava, grated; a small quantity of the grated cassava is then strewn over it, and it is deposited within an inclosed ground where the depredators resort. The fowls eagerly devour this tempting bait, and soon becoming intoxicated, are unable to escape.

The grallatorial or wading birds are very numerous, and comprise several interesting species. The one most distinguished for beauty of plumage and elegance of form, is the sultana (*Gallinula Martinica*) which may frequently be seen, in company with great numbers of allied species, upon the vast morass in the neighbourhood of Savannah le Mar. The sultana has the toes extremely long, which enables it to walk with ease upon the leaves and tangled stems of water-plants that float upon the surface of the pools. Mr. Gosse noticed one walking upon some aquatic herbage which only sank an inch or two under its tread, as it gracefully moved from one leaf to another with great deliberation, frequently standing still, and looking leisurely around.

The flamingo, which is one of the most elegant of the swimming birds (*Natatores*), is now rarely seen upon the coast of Jamaica, and then only singly, or at most associated with three or four companions; but in Cuba they congregate in flocks of two or three hundred, and are called by the colonial Spaniards, 'English soldiers,' from their red plumage, and their habit of moving together in lengthened lines. Mr. Hill says:—

'I visited the district of Boyamo, on the south side of Cuba, in the year 1821, and was on the coast from January to April. I was much

among the marshes and swamps about the river Conta, a stream that receives the tidal waters, which here rise and fall six or seven feet, at fifty miles along its course. At the mouth of this river there are long stretches of shoal ground, where the floods of the river and sea form lakelets, and successively deposit their stores of living atoms, with the rising and falling tides. Here the flamingoes flock and feed. They arrange themselves in *what seem to be lines*, in consequence of their finding their food along the *edges* of these shallows; and though it is true that whilst their heads are down, and they are clattering with their bills in the water, they have one of their number on the watch, standing erect, with his long neck turning round to every point, ready to sound the alarm on the apprehension of danger—what appears to be a studied distribution of themselves back to back, as some observers describe their arrangement, is nothing but their regardless turning about in their places, inwardly and outwardly, at a time when all are intent on making the most of the stores which the prolific waters are yielding.—pp. 391, 392.

Mr. Hill mentions an instance of a domesticated pelican, (*Pelecanus fuscus*) which winged backwards and forwards,—visiting the wild flocks in the harbour during the day, and returning in the evening to roost upon a trunk of a tree which lay in its master's yard. Whilst it was being domesticated, and the quill-feathers had been drawn to prevent its escape, it was wholly dependent for food upon the fish given to it by the fishermen on the beach. There was consequently no supply for it on Sundays, and the bird at length became so conscious of the recurrence of this fast-day, that although on every other day it went down to the sea-side to wait the coming in of the fishing canoes, it never stirred from its roosting-place upon the day of rest, but spent the whole time in a state of drowsy repose.

The sympathy which gregarious birds manifest towards their wounded companions has been often observed, and none are more distinguished in this respect than the boobies. Mr. Hill kept a pair of the black and white booby (*Sula parva*), in a domesticated state, and on one occasion, a circumstance occurred which displayed a great amount of kindly sympathy on the part of the female towards her mate, accompanied, unfortunately, with anything but surgical skill. We shall give the account of this booby-doctor in Mr. Hill's own words.

'My little nephew, in chasing with a small whip one of our birds, entangled the lash about its wing, and snapped the arm-bone. The one bird not alone showed sympathy for the other, but exhibited curiosity about the nature and character of the accident. Our two birds are male and female. The wounded booby withdrew into a lonely part of the yard, and stood there drooping. The female sought

him as soon as she heard his cry of agony, and after ascertaining, by surveying him all round, that the injury was in the wing, proceeded to prevail on him to move the limb, that she might see whether he was really disabled beyond the power of using it for flight. After a quacking *honk* or two, as a call to do something required of him, the female stretched out one of her wings; the wounded male imitated her, and, making an effort, moved out, in some sort of way, the wounded member to its full length. He was now required, by a corresponding movement, to raise it: he raised the broken arm, but the wing could not be elevated. The curiosity of the female was at a stand-still. After a moment's pause, her wounded companion was persuaded to make another trial at imitation, and to give the wings some three or four good flaps. He followed the given signal, gave the required beats upon the air with so thorough a good will, to meet the wishes of his curious mate, that he twirled the broken wing quite round, and turned it inside out. The mischief was prodigiously increased. It was now necessary to put a stop to this process of investigation of the one bird into the misfortune of the other. I came in just as these exhibitions had occurred, and, taking up the bird with its twisted wing, I was obliged, after setting the limb, to restrain him from any further gratification of his mate's curiosity, by tying the wing into place, and keeping it so tied till the bone united. The one now attended the other, and carefully examined, day after day, the broken limb. Calling on him to make an occasional effort to raise the disabled and immoveable member, she used her ineffectual endeavours to persuade him to lift it, though tied, by lifting her own from time to time.'—pp. 419, 420.

The black and white booby is met with on the Pedro Kays, where myriads of sea-fowl resort in the breeding season. The eggs of several species more especially those of the noddy (*Megaloptyrus stolidus*) 'the Sandwich Tern' (*Thalasseus Cantiacus*), and the egg-bird (*Sterna fuliginosa*) form important articles of commerce, and every year several small vessels are sent from Kingston and other ports, in the months of March, April, and May, for the purpose of gathering the eggs. 'The Kays are open to all adventurers; but the egg-gathering is regulated by a custom which recognizes the first-coming vessel as commanding for the season. The second vessel is called the Commodore; the first being styled the Admiral.' A code of rules has been drawn up for the regulation of this little fleet, and in cases of infraction, a jury selected from the various vessels is summoned to decide upon the complaints, and to award the appropriate punishment.

Mr. Gosse states, that his own acquaintance with the grallatorial and natatorial birds of Jamaica is but slight, and he has consequently contented himself with a bare enumeration of some of them, whilst of others his notice is necessarily meagre.

This deficiency is, however, the less to be regretted, as Mr. Hill is preparing for the press a work upon the migratory birds of Jamaica, which will include many of the water-birds, and will embrace the results of long-continued observations. The evidence which we already possess of Mr. Hill's extensive information as a naturalist, and of his abilities as a writer, will secure from us a cordial reception of his promised contribution to ornithological literature, which, we have no doubt, will prove a worthy companion to the excellent volume which has formed the subject of our present notice.

ART. III.—*Ancient Egypt : her Testimony to the Truth of the Bible ; being an interpretation of the Inscriptions and Pictures which remain upon her Tombs and Temples. Illustrated by very numerous Engravings and Coloured Plates.* By William Osburn, Jun., Member of the Council of the Royal Society of Literature. 8vo. London: Bagster & Sons.

NEARLY half a century has elapsed since some French soldiers dug up from the ruins of an Egyptian town a slab of black marble, which filled the learned world with sanguine expectations. For ages the gigantic monuments of Egypt had presented copious records of her early history, the annals of the world's youth ; but it had been only to tantalize, not to satisfy, the curiosity of man ; for ages he had gazed with keen desire, but gazed in vain. A peculiar interest invested these records. They were those of the most renowned of nations. The polished Greeks pointed with reverence to Egypt as the cradle of their science and art, the parent of their learning and refinement ; the founders of some of their states had emigrated thence ; and thither their philosophers travelled, to sit at the feet of the priests of Memphis and Thebes. Long lines of illustrious monarchs were unrolled by these sages to their admiring visitors, carrying back the history of their country till it was lost in the obscurity of mythic fable. The gigantic piles which astonish the modern traveller by their grandeur and their profusion, were then the wonder of the world ; and spoke of the skill, knowledge, opulence, and power, which had existed in Egypt for more than a thousand years.

Ascending from the uncertainties of human tradition to the

stability of the truth of God, we find another interest investing this ancient land. Its remote antiquity, its civilization, its wealth, its power, are now confirmed by the pen of inspiration, and are intertwined with the destinies of that family of man whom God chose out from among the nations, to be 'a peculiar treasure' to himself. As early as the call of Abram, Egypt is introduced to us as a prosperous nation, enjoying the advantages of a settled and hereditary monarchy, in whose court the patriarch finds a hospitality and deference to moral sanctions, indicative of a polished age. The story of Joseph's bondage and exaltation, and of his family's emigration to Egypt, and kind reception there, brings out more fully the same characteristics; and, though we soon afterwards find the most oppressive tyranny and the most daring impiety in the monarchs, we obtain an increased acquaintance with the fact of their possession of all that the world associates with greatness.

It was not, then, with an irrational curiosity, that the learned looked upon the inscriptions which everywhere covered the walls of the stupendous palace-temples, and sepulchres of Egypt. Cut to an indelible depth in the hardest granite, yet finished with elaborate beauty and delicacy; ever accompanying, and subordinate to, enormous sculptured and pictured scenes of martial prowess or pacific grandeur, it was evident that they were coeval with the structures on which they were found, and that both were the productions of her most glorious age. What details would they not reveal of the early history of man! what light would they not throw on the origin and primal destinies of surrounding nations, or the rise and infancy of renowned kingdoms! But they were shrouded in characters, the meaning of which was entirely lost; and all the patience of research and ingenuity of conjecture, which had been again and again spent upon them, had failed to pierce their mystery; and baffled hope had almost given up the task in despair.

The Rosetta Stone at length furnished the link that was wanted to connect these inscrutable characters with some whose power was known, and thus afford a point of attack, whence gradual inroads might be made upon the darkness which had hitherto been unbroken. An inscription of the Ptolemaic age, engraved in a three-fold form,—twice in the language of Egypt, in the hieroglyphic and the enchorial characters, and once in the Greek language and character,—afforded the key which was to unlock the venerable treasures of Egyptian literature.

The expectations which were suddenly awakened on this auspicious discovery, have been as yet, however, but very imperfectly fulfilled. The study of hieroglyphic and hieratic inscrip-

tions, which has now been pursued, with the aid of its light, for nearly fifty years, has not yet made us very much wiser than we were, on the subject of early history. For this barrenness of anticipated result, several sufficient apologies present themselves. It must be remembered that the triple inscription of the Rosetta Tablet gave not the immediate mastery of the Egyptian manner of writing, but only the clue, by which, through a slow and painful process, it might ultimately be attained. It was not yet known whether the characters were alphabetic, syllabic, or symbolic; nor whether they were to be read from left to right, or from right to left. The general sense of a certain number of lines composed of these characters, was expressed (somewhat loosely, as was afterwards proved) in a certain number of lines in Greek. Had the latter, instead of being a translation, been a transcription of the Egyptian words in Greek characters, the task would have been much more easy; a simple comparison would have put the student in immediate possession of the power of the hieroglyphic and enchorial forms; and the meaning of the words thus read would have been almost as intelligible as the ancient Hebrew; for it is now known that the modern Coptic, scarcely yet a dead language, is but a degenerate form of the old Egyptian tongue, modified, of course, in its descent through many centuries, yet much less changed than might have been expected.

Another difficulty arose from the mutilated condition of the stone. A large fragment of the upper left corner was broken off; the sides were much worn, and the termination of the Greek inscription was also lost; about one-third of the hieroglyphic inscription was wanting, as were the beginnings of the lines in the enchorial.

But the labours of such men as Akerblad, De Sacy, Champollion le Jeune, and Young, succeeded in overcoming even these difficulties. Certain groups of characters frequently repeated, and contained within oval cartouches, were found to correspond pretty well in frequency and position, to proper names in the Greek, and being examined in detail, were proved to have a phonetic or alphabetic power. By applying this key to ovals in other inscriptions, the names of most of the Greek and Roman sovereigns of Egypt were read, proving the true value of the characters, and greatly increasing the number of those known.

The publication of the '*Grammaire Egyptien*' of M. Champollion le Jeune, after his death, in 1831, embodied the discoveries which up to that time had been made in the study of Egyptian literature. This work, though incomplete, remains a surprising monument of industry, learning, and ingenuity; and

though errors have been discovered in it, and improvements have been made on some of its details, it must ever be regarded as an invaluable exposition of the written language of ancient Egypt.

The interest thus awakened in these no longer hopeless investigations, attracted many men of science to Egypt; some to study the sculptured scenes and hieroglyphic inscriptions from the originals; others to make accurate drawings and casts from them for study at home; and others to collect and transmit to the museums of Europe, such of the remains as could be removed. From these labours have resulted the beautiful works of Sir J. G. Wilkinson and Professor Rosellini. The two series of the 'Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians,' each consisting of three volumes, 8vo., are full of the most interesting details of the public and private life of this renowned people, very copiously illustrated by original drawings copied from the monuments. The scrupulous care with which these have been taken, their beauty of execution, and their evident correctness, are worthy of all praise. It would scarcely be imagined by those who have not examined these charming volumes, how minute and full an acquaintance we here gain with the habits of the Egyptians of nearly four thousand years ago. Various processes in the arts, such as glass-blowing, metallurgy, carpentry and cabinet-making, the tanning, dyeing, and manufacturing of leather, weaving, rope-making, sculpture and painting, and a hundred others, are depicted on the walls of the tombs with a graphic power and spirit truly surprising; while others display the objects and scenes of the chase, the ingenious traps, and other resources of the fowler, or the labours of 'the fishers,' 'that cast angle into the brooks, and that spread nets upon the waters.' Very numerous illustrations (and some of a particularly interesting, because unexpected character) are thus obtained of the Word of God; and it is not the least pleasing trait in Sir J. G. Wilkinson's writings, that he gladly seizes every occasion for pointing out these illustrations to his readers.

But the publication of the grand work of Dr. Rosellini, Professor of Oriental Languages and Antiquities at Pisa, must be considered as forming an era in the study of Egyptian archaeology. In the year 1829, a scientific commission had been sent to Egypt under the joint auspices of the French and Tuscan governments, expressly to make drawings and collections of antiquities, and to prosecute researches connected with this subject. At the head of this expedition were Professor Rosellini and M. Champollion le Jeune. The latter dying before the results were published, it remained to the Italian professor to present to the world the fruits of their very successful labours.

By the liberality of the Tuscan government this is done in a style worthy of the subject.

This magnificent work, entitled, 'I monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia disegnati della Spedizione scientifico-letteraria Toscana in Egitto, distribuiti in ordine di materie, interpretati ed illustrati,' consists of eight volumes, embracing investigations of the history, institutions, and manners of Egypt, recorded upon her monuments, from the times of the Pharaohs down to the Roman emperors. To say, that the contents of these volumes are rich in valuable instruction would be to say but little; but it is to the plates with which they are illustrated that we refer when we characterize this work as marking an era in archæological literature. They are arranged in three volumes of gigantic dimensions, one of which is devoted to subjects connected with mythology, another to historical records, and a third to the institutions and customs of civil life. Of these, while the last-named is perhaps the most generally interesting, as being most readily intelligible, we regard the second as the most valuable. The foreign wars of the illustrious Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty are here represented in a spirited manner in numerous battle-scenes, triumphal processions, and public thanksgivings. No labour has been spared by the Egyptian artists in depicting these scenes, nor by the European *savans* in copying them; and the immense size of the plates permits the details to be faithfully transmitted. For the most part the subjects are traced merely in outline, which gives clearness, if it lacks effect; but not a few are coloured with the most brilliant tints, in *fac-simile* imitation of the originals.

In these elaborate engravings we have, then, at length, accounts of the relations of the early Pharaohs with foreign nations, recorded by themselves. The scenes which depict the invasion of the hostile country, the investing and storming of its mountain-fortresses, and the rout of its armed hosts; those which display long lines of captive chiefs led in strings behind the conqueror's chariot, and those which represent the horrible sacrifice of supplicating victims tied to a common stake in the idol-temple, are alike accompanied with long hieroglyphic inscriptions, studding the surface of the picture wherever there is a blank space to receive them.

It is to these scenes that Mr. Osburn has directed his chief attention in the work before us. He has laboured to decipher the historical inscriptions, in the hope of reading in them the names of the nations with which Egypt had dealings at so primitive a period, and by thus giving individuality and precision to the impressions conveyed by the pictures, throwing important light upon early history. His views respecting the importance

of these pictures, and the proper mode of studying them, are thus expressed :—

‘ No subject in the whole range of the recently recovered antiquities of Egypt, at first, excited more attention or expectation than these evidently faithful portraits of foreign enemies or vassals. The physiognomies and complexions are clearly distinguished, and very various; the names, also, written in alphabetic characters, are of frequent occurrence. Here, then, is a mine of information regarding the ancient world, from the working of which much valuable truth might reasonably be anticipated. Hitherto, however, it must be acknowledged, that the result has grievously disappointed these expectations. Nothing, or next to nothing, has yet been elicited, which subserves the cause of truth effectually, with the single exception of the fragment of the wall at Karnak, which commemorates the invasion of Judea by Shishak; and this belongs to the era of decline, and is therefore necessarily inferior in value and interest to those of an earlier date, which still remain unknown, as to the nations against whom these wars were undertaken. The conjectures which have been hazarded as to the identification of names, scarcely go beyond one or two groups of hieroglyphics, which have been interpreted as general appellations of the inhabitants of a continent, rather than as the particular names of any known ancient nation. . . . The names, as generally interpreted, are mere collocations of vowels and consonants, bearing no resemblance to any names known to ancient geography.

‘ The very important nature of the subject seems to justify our considering for a moment the cause of this singular failure. The enormous size of the pictures has a natural tendency to produce the impression of a corresponding greatness in the events they commemorate. A design covering the wall of a temple nearly eight hundred feet in length, representing battles of infantry and chariots, with the siege and capture of forts, the passing of rivers, and the encampment of armies, suggests the idea of a series of conquests extending over vast districts. Such, however, is by no means necessarily a legitimate conclusion. The one object of these representations was, to exalt the deeds of arms of the personage at whose charge the temple had been erected. It would, therefore, be incumbent upon the artist to cover the wall with the details, real or invented, of the war to be commemorated, whether the hero had extended his ravages over whole continents, or confined them to some petty kingdom in the immediate vicinity of Egypt. Nor is it to be denied that the latter is an occurrence more probable than the former, and therefore more likely to have furnished the originals whence these huge portraits were taken; for it must be borne in mind, that one monarch of Egypt only (Sesostris) is said by the Greek historians to have carried his conquests far beyond the limits of Egypt; whereas, the walls of the temples give the details of important victories achieved by many of the Pharaohs. The single case, also, in which the particular war which one of these vast scenes commemorates, has been satisfactorily ascer-

tained, is the picture on the south wall of the palace of Karnak, representing the invasion of Judea by Shishak (1 Kings, xiv. 25, 26), a mere predatory expedition, not extending beyond the limits of that kingdom, and probably ultimately repelled by the invaded. Yet, in point of magnitude of extent and detail, it yields to no other similar design that is now known to exist. It may, therefore, be safely assumed, at any rate, that the colossal size of these pictures is no necessary indication of the greatness of the events represented in them.

'Another cause, however, has been far more efficacious than this deception in keeping us in the dark as to the true nature of these reliefs. Those who have occupied themselves with Egyptian antiquities, seem by common consent to have rejected the aid of the Bible (the only book in existence which professes to be co-temporary with them), and to have relied upon the classical authorities, the earliest of which dates at least a thousand years later than the temples on which these reliefs occur, so that they could not possibly contain any thing beyond vague and obscure traditions of a period so remote. This, as we hope to shew, has been the principal cause of their failure.'—pp. 33—36.

We think this reasoning is correct. It is unhappily true, that among too many scientific men, in England as on the Continent, all citation of the Word of God is carefully avoided. That it should be implicitly submitted to, as an infallible authority, we could hardly expect, knowing as we do the pride and darkness of the natural mind. But we might reasonably expect, that the Bible would be treated with as much deference as a profane historian; that the narratives of Moses would be valued, at least, as highly as those of Herodotus. Unhappily it is not so: as has been well remarked, the statements of Moses with respect to Egypt are believed, if they are confirmed by the monuments; those of the Greek writers, if they are not contradicted. If it were not for its claim to inspiration, a claim of which many are so intolerant, the sober unvarnished narrative of the Bible would be hailed as an invaluable light, by which to study the contemporaneous records of Egypt. We rejoice to find that Mr. Osburn has pursued this course; and not without encouraging success. He arrives at the conclusion, that the wars depicted with so much care and pains on the gigantic walls of the palace-temples, were for the most part prosecuted against the early inhabitants of Palestine and its borders. Now, we know, that about a thousand years before the time of Herodotus, a complete revolution took place in the history of that land. Of 'the Hittites and the Girgashites, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, seven nations greater and mightier than' Israel,—what could Herodotus or Diodorus know?

It is admitted, on all hands, that the pale races of these battles and triumphs are of Asiatic origin. Contests with the black or dark tribes that had settled to the west and south of Egypt, frequently occur also; but these people are easily identified by the contour of their features and by their complexion, as well as by a conventional mark of relative position.

'The geographical situation of the countries of which the captives were inhabitants is denoted by the tassel of the cord by which the conqueror is dragging them. Those which lay to the south and west, against which an expedition would have to set out from Upper Egypt, were led by a cord terminating in the bud of the lotus, which was the symbol of that division of the kingdom. The nations of Asia and Europe, on the other hand, lying across the Isthmus of Suez, could only be invaded by an army from Lower Egypt, and were, therefore denoted by a tassel representing . . . the culm of the papyrus rush. To this rule there is no exception.'—pp. 32, 33.

Now a glance at a map will remind us that an army proceeding eastward from the Egyptian frontier must come into immediate collision with the warlike nations of southern Palestine.* No progress could be made till these were either subdued, or persuaded into alliance. The unavoidable jealousy subsisting between nations having a common frontier, but alien in blood and language, would render the latter alternative extremely improbable; while the military resources and prowess which the Scriptures repeatedly attribute to the Canaanite nations would render the former an enterprise of great difficulty. From the details given us, of the war which ended in their national extermination, we learn many interesting particulars of their martial power. The land of Palestine seems to have swarmed with population in the time of Joshua; the inhabitants had a military reputation well-known and undisputed; their cities were many 'and walled up to heaven;' every hill-top of their mountainous country, every rocky ridge was crowned with a frowning fortress; large bodies of chariots, ('iron chariots,') could

* By following the shore of the Red Sea, an Egyptian army might, it is true, penetrate into the peninsula of Arabia; but its inhospitable deserts, and more particularly the indomitable bravery and love of independence, which have always characterized the Arabs, would form an insuperable bar to any permanent conquests in that direction. We might expect, however, to find some collisions with its inhabitants in these monuments, and we think we can trace them in a people called the *Rebo*, described by Sir J. G. Wilkinson, as in almost continual war with Egypt, from a very remote era until long after the accession of the nineteenth dynasty; as occasionally defeated, but never conquered; and as obstinately refusing to submit to an alliance with the Egyptians. The name *Arabah* seems from the earliest times to have been the native appellation of the north-west portion of Arabia.

be poured into the plains; and, above all, the numerous tribes of this defensible country knew that union is strength, and whatever occasional quarrels they had among themselves, could make common cause against a common enemy.

From a consideration of these facts we might with almost certainty expect to find that Palestine was the ordinary scene of Egyptian warfare; or at least of that portion of the warfare, which being aggressive and successful, and prosecuted in the enemy's country, would be deemed a fit subject for record by Egyptian art; for we may be sure that if such an event as an invasion of Egypt, did by any sad reverse occur, very little trace of it would be perpetuated on those monuments, whose object was to sound forth the glory, not the misfortune of Egypt and its monarch. We repeat that, to us it seems an incredible thing to suppose that Egypt and Canaan were not engaged in frequent, fierce, and long-continued struggles for military ascendancy; and this, though not a tittle of evidence could be gathered, by the identification of the names transmitted in the hieroglyphic texts.

We make these observations to guard against the feeling of disappointment which may arise from the slenderness of direct evidence with which some of Mr. Osburn's suggestions are supported. It would be very unfair to receive or reject any of these attempts at identification, on philological evidence alone; a word in the hieroglyphic text might be found having a tolerable resemblance to some name found in an ancient author, sacred or profane, (and this the more readily, in a language where vowels are vague, and several sets of consonants are interchangeable), and yet there might be no shadow of reason, beyond this resemblance, to suppose that the one represented the other. On the other hand, it is easy to imagine that circumstances might render extremely probable the identity (in value, if not in sound) of two names, the similarity of which might be deemed fanciful and unsatisfactory. Such, too, is the relation which the actors in many of the pictured scenes evidently bear to each other, that the identification of them becomes a chain, every separate link of which not only adds its own individual weight to the whole, but importantly increases that of all the others. We will illustrate our remarks from the work before us.

In one of the pictures which cover the exterior of the north wall of the great temple at Karnak, given by Rosellini, in *Mon. Stor.* pl. xlvi., div. 1:—

'Sethos is represented as just alighted from his chariot, holding the reins and his bow in his left hand, and gracefully upholding his

right hand in the act of listening to one of his principal officers, who, in a supplicating attitude, is interceding for a group of foreigners behind him, some of whom are kneeling and stretching forth their hands in the attitude of supplication, while others are busy at work, felling timber. A destroyed fort appears below his horses; and, evidently, he has just gained a victory. The discourse of the [officer] is as follows:—‘O thou divine lord, the saviour of all, like the god Monthra, the [R D N N U]* see thee, and their members are stupified.’ The timber-fellers, therefore, are evidently of this race, which Sethos has just vanquished, and conformably to the universal custom of ancient war, he is employing them as slaves. The hieroglyphic inscription which accompanies this picture, is, unhappily, much mutilated by the destruction of the upper part of the wall. Enough, however, remains to afford a satisfactory clue to much of its meaning. The conqueror is said to cut down trees in the land of the [R M N N], in order to build great ships upon their chief rivers or waters. Some of the foreigners behind the [officer] are the inhabitants of this country, and they thus address the king:—‘The wicked race of the [R M N N] say, glory be to the lord of the world in the greatness of his avenging power. We behold thee like thy father, the sun, living in the beauty of thy youth.’ The group of foreigners being all dressed alike, and having the same physiognomy, we conclude that the two tribes to which they belonged were contiguous to each other, and that the latter of them, alarmed at the terrible defeat sustained by their neighbours, came to sue for peace, which was granted; and the king employed his prisoners in felling timber in their country, for the purpose of building ships wherewith to prosecute his conquests. We find in another part of this picture, that the ships were built by the former people; for there it is said that ‘in the ships of the wicked race of the [R D N,] we (*i. e.* the gods) brought his majesty to his conquests over the land of the [Sh T N.] Let us now endeavour to identify these names, if possible, so as to give these ancient facts a useful bearing upon history. They both end with the letter N, which is also the plural afformant of the Syro-Phœnician language, and constantly used to denote a tribe or race. Thus the Anakim אַנָּקִים of the Hebrew Bible, they would have written and pronounced *Anakin*.

‘As we have already pointed out many probabilities that the war here commemorated was waged against the ancient inhabitants of Canaan, we will assume that such is the case, and that these are the names of two tribes of Canaanites, written in the way in which they were usually pronounced. The first of them consists of two consonants R and D, or T. These are also the consonants of אַרְבַּד *Arvad*, which is the name of one of the sons or descendants of Canaan, whose tribe is called in the Hebrew Bible אַרְבַּדִּים *Arvadim* (Gen. x. 18), but would doubtless have been pronounced by the Canaanites

* Mr. Osburn here introduces the phonetic hieroglyphics, most exquisitely cut in wood, for which we are compelled to substitute their literal representatives: *et sic inf.*

Arvadin, in which word are contained the consonants of the hieroglyphic name of this ancient people, in the order of their occurrence. As nothing like literal exactitude in spelling can possibly be looked for on monuments of so remote a period, and as vowels were uncertain and often omitted in all very ancient languages, there is enough, at any rate in the coincidence to justify our pursuit of the inquiry.' —pp. 50—52.

The name which Mr. Osburn here endeavours to identify, has been supposed by M. Champollion to express the Lydians; while Sir J. G. Wilkinson, confessing his inability to apply it, writes it Rot-n-no. The letters R and L are used identically in hieroglyphics, as are also D, T, and Th, and the termination NU or NO very frequently found in proper names which end in N, is stated by Champollion to be unnecessary to the sense, as the same names are often found written without it. That the letter ' in the name Arvad was very slightly sounded, is probable from the fact that, in process of time, it was altogether dropped; the little island-city, which became the chief port of this prosperous maritime people, and to which they gave their name, being known to the Greeks by the appellation of *Aradus*. In the modification of the name *Antaradus*, too, to *Tortosa*, and *Tartous*, we see the same thing; for, on removing the initial T, as the relict of the prefix *ἀντί*, *opposite*, and the termination *ous*, or *osa*, we have the letters RT or RD, as the constituent elements of the original word.

The nautical skill of 'the men of Arvad,' alluded to by the prophet Ezekiel, their maritime situation, and the proximity of magnificent forests of ship-timber to their country, are adduced by Mr. Osburn as strong confirmatory evidence of the correctness of his identification. The RMNN had been already supposed by Sir G. Wilkinson to be the people of Lebanon, B and M being commonly interchangeable; nor would this interpretation invalidate, but rather confirm, that which we have just noticed. If the final N, however, be the plural afformant, Mr. Osburn's suggestion, that the word signifies the Hermonites, may be likely enough, if the initial aspirate ' was really 'not pronounced in ordinary discourse.' The relative positions of the two ranges of mountains, with respect to Arvad, incline us, however, to prefer the former reading.

By similar investigation Mr. Osburn has satisfactorily shown the identity of the *Amori* with the Amorites, the *Shairetana* with the Sidonians, and the *Palishta* with the Philistines; all of whom are conspicuous actors in these early conflicts. With a less degree of certainty, he reads the names of the Jebusites, the Hittites, the Amalekites, the Zuzim, (whom he supposes to have been the shepherds of Manetho's tradition,) the Hamath-

ites, and other tribes and districts. To some of these interpretations we have difficulty in assenting; the reading of the Hittites, חֲתִי , in the TAHEN-NU, by an inversion of the text, does not appear satisfactory; while in the red-haired TAMA-HU, with their hair shaven into corners, who wear ostrich plumes as a head-dress, and large rings in their ears, whom Mr. Osburn considers as representing the Hamathites,—we are rather disposed to recognise the Edomites, whose country bordered on the great Arabian desert.

Perhaps the most important and the most successful identification in Mr. Osburn's book, is that of the *Sheta* or *Shtin* of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, with the Ammonites and Moabites of the Holy Scriptures. The first hieroglyphic character of this word seems at times to have had the various powers of Kh, Sh, and Sc; for which it is used indiscriminately. Hence this name has been written, *Kheta*, *Sheta*, *Sceto*, and, by Mr. Osburn, who supposes the last character to be equipollent to N, *Shtin*. The nation so named has been commonly supposed to be the Scythians ($\Sigma\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\theta\alpha\iota$) of the Greek historians; but besides that we have no reason to believe that the latter people had a national existence at so early a period, the fact that the struggle between Egypt and the *Sheta* was protracted through a hundred and fifty years, from the reign of Sethos I. to that of Rameses IV., during which, on one occasion, it appears that Egypt was actually invaded by the *Sheta*, proves that this powerful nation dwelt at no great distance from the Egyptian frontier. They are also enumerated with the tribes that are identified as inhabiting Canaan or its borders, though distinguished from them.

'They heard of the advance of Sesostris upon Punon by Mount Hor, and sent an embassy to his camp; and probably, in consequence of the failure of that embassy, they laid siege to Hadasha, which seems to have been situated to the west of the Dead Sea, near its northern extremity. Their country, therefore, must have extended to within no great distance of both these points.

'We have seen that both Sethos and Sesostris went against them in the ships of the Arvadites; and that, probably, these ships were on the Dead Sea.

'In the enumeration at Ipsambul, of the countries subdued by or making peace with Sesostris, the land of the *Shtin* is named between those of Naharaim and Heth; and upon the probable supposition that geographical order is observed in it, this country must have been situated between these two districts.

'The same inscription implies that the *Shtin* consisted of *two confederated races*, and that there were in the country *two places* or cities, *both of which were known by the name of Rabbah*.

‘If we now refer to the maps of Canaan, as laid down from the scripture narratives, we shall find the country denoted by all these indications, inhabited by races agreeing very remarkably with all the specified particulars.

‘The district to the eastward of the Dead Sea, or, in other words, between Naharaim (Mesopotamia) and the land of Heth, was inhabited by the Ammonites and the Moabites, the descendants of the incestuous daughters of Lot.

‘Though not of the family of the Canaanites, these races were in constant communication with them, and warmly embraced their quarrel with the Israelites in after times, against whom, notwithstanding their blood-relationship, and notwithstanding the Divine command to spare them for Lot’s sake (Deut. ii. 19), they entertained an antipathy at least equal to that of the Canaanites. See Numb. xxv. 1, 2; Judg. iii. 12; 2 Sam. x. These circumstances abundantly account for the similarity between them in dress and customs.

‘The identity of the *Shtin* of the hieroglyphics with the Moabites and Ammonites, is rendered further probable by the circumstance that the latter were gross idolaters, and having learned their false religion from the Canaanites, they were doubtless like them, the worshippers of Asher and Ashtaroth.

‘The two branches of the family of Lot seem to have been very generally in close confederation at all times (see the passages just referred to); and their being originally from the same stock would naturally lead to their being known in Egypt under one designation.

‘The descendants of Lot also resembled this unknown nation in their practice of going to battle with large bodies of chariots and horsemen; two and thirty thousand are mentioned on one occasion (1 Chron. xix. 7).

‘It is likewise a remarkable circumstance that the capital cities both of Ammon and Moab had the same name, and that name was Rabbah.’—pp. 133, 134.

The author then deduces an argument, which our limits preclude us from quoting, from an event recorded in the hieroglyphic inscriptions. The nation whom he considers as the *Zuzim*, complain to the Egyptian monarch of an invasion of their land by the *Sheta*; and this invasion and its results Mr. Osburn presumes to be alluded to by Moses, in Deut. ii. 19—21.

‘The name is now the only point of identification between the [Sh T N] and the Moabites and the Ammonites, which remains unestablished. This single missing link, to complete the chain of evidence, is supplied by the prophetic denunciation of Balaam against Moab: ‘There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel, and shall smite the corners of Moab, and destroy all the children of *שֶׁת* Sheth,’ Numb. xxiv. 17. It is needless to dwell upon the undisputed fact, that as Jacob and Israel in the one parallel are two names of the same people, this must also be

the case with Moab and Sheth in the other. Sheth, therefore, was a name of Moab, and this was also the name by which they and the children of Ammon were known in Egypt. . . . This fact furnishes a valuable illustration of the passage of Scripture before us, which hitherto has been but ill understood. Sheth was the name of the territory of Moab and Ammon. The meaning of the prophecy of Balaam is, therefore, perfectly obvious; and it received its accomplishment in the subjugation of both these nations by David.

'The [Sh T N] or Shethites, then, by whose formidable armaments of horse and foot the eastern frontier of Egypt was constantly threatened during the reigns of Sethos and Sesostris, were the children of Moab and Ammon. The proof of this point amounts to absolute certainty.'—p. 136.

About two-thirds of the work before us are devoted to these interesting investigations; the remainder is occupied by the service of the tabernacle, and the music of the ancient Hebrews, illustrated by the designs and inscriptions on the monuments, in a manner similar to that adopted by Professor Hengstenberg, in his work entitled, 'Egypt and the Books of Moses.' On these subjects Mr. Osburn has many original and valuable observations.

The manner in which the volume is got up deserves great praise. An immense number of hieroglyphic symbols, cut in wood, so minute as to be printed in the letter-press, and yet possessing a delicacy and accuracy quite astonishing, give an unique character to the work. But besides these, there are many copies of the historical and mechanical plates of Rosellini in wood, and several plates printed in colours, after the same authority.

We cordially recommend Mr. Osburn's book to our readers. Its value is not to be measured by the actual light which it pours upon ancient literature, but by the example which it affords of the manner and tone in which such researches should be prosecuted, and of the confirmation which they are calculated to yield to inspired truth. The antiquities of Egypt have been the favourite resource of modern infidelity: already, as in the cases of the Zodiacs of Esnè and Dendara, an acquaintance with the hieroglyphics has rebuked the arrogance of French atheism; and every subsequent examination of these primeval records, so far from shaking our confidence in 'those things which are most surely believed among us,' as was by some fondly hoped, and by others weakly feared, has only accumulated proof that our faith is founded upon a rock.

ART. IV.—*Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Charles Simeon, M.A., late senior Fellow of King's College, and Minister of Trinity Church, Cambridge. With a selection from his Writings and Correspondence.* Edited by the Rev. William Carus, M.A., Fellow and Senior Dean of Trinity College, and Minister of Trinity Church, Cambridge. pp. 884. London: Hatchard and Son. 1847.

WHETHER or not this be the age in which men greatly live, it is unquestionably the age in which lives are greatly written. The increase of biographical works is becoming a serious inconvenience and injury. The simplicity and truthfulness which are the charm of epistolary correspondence, and the most essential qualities of private diaries, are in danger of disappearing altogether. Most men who write, do so 'with a view to publication,' and those who do not desire to appear before the public in biographical or autobiographical records, refrain from writing altogether. Nor is this all. The plentiful supply of common-place experiences and performances cannot fail to exert a pernicious influence on character; while many deceive themselves by substituting the reading of uninteresting and unimpressive 'lives' for the study of a literature which would task the intellectual powers, and nourish and mature the moral and religious sentiments. If our advice were likely to be taken, we would earnestly counsel writers before they publish the histories of the dead, to ask, what they contain which has not already appeared in a thousand forms; and readers, before they peruse them, to inquire, what advantage, in augmented knowledge or spiritual stimulus, they are likely to derive.

Mr. Simeon was one of the few men who deserve a record, if not on account of natural greatness or acquirement, yet because of the work which was given him to do, and the position that he filled, during half a century, in connexion with the most enduring interests of men. It was originally intended that the Rev. John Sargent, his 'most beloved friend,' should undertake the work; but he was removed by death just as he was preparing to visit Mr. Simeon for the purpose of receiving his papers; whereupon, the present editor was requested to supply his place. Few editors have had more abundant materials for their task. The difficulty and labour must have been in a wise selection. A short sketch of his life to 1813, written by Mr. Simeon himself, with memoranda and correspondence almost without end, imposed the necessity of a patience of no common strength, and a discrimination more than ordinarily skilful. The 'sketch' has been, with the exception of a few words, en-

tirely used ; and after the date to which it reaches, no attempt is made to present a continuous narrative, but a selection from his writings and correspondence is relied upon to furnish 'a sufficient history of his thoughts and actions.' With a high appreciation of the editor's difficulties, and a lively sympathy with him on this account, we cannot but regret his adoption of this plan. He has certainly fallen into an error of judgment, and this not without having perceived a more excellent way. It is much to be wished that he had kept to his original intention 'to compile the memoir in the usual historical form, connecting it, as might naturally be expected, with the religious events of the times.' The reason of the abandonment of this plan does not seem to us sufficient ; namely, that as 'Mr. Simeon had given the strictest injunctions that on no consideration whatever should the memoir exceed the limits of 'a single octavo volume,' the fulfilment of the original design would have necessitated the omission of much of the correspondence.' That letters are important, especially when the writer is a man of extraordinary powers, or has passed through an experience of a peculiar nature, that is, when they contain valuable knowledge or advice, or describe an internal history which illustrates interesting questions, or may serve to guide those who are groping after God and truth in thick darkness, will be universally admitted. But there is no value in a letter because it is a letter, apart from considerations such as those now mentioned. Upon this subject a very unreasoning taste and estimate prevail. The cry is for 'correspondence ;' and if a book be filled with letters, it matters not to whom, or upon what ; it is taken for granted that it must be of richer worth than one composed of materials without such interesting revelations of the writer's heart. Now, in the first place, the mass of letters are no revelations of heart at all ; and, secondly, the mass of hearts, and of hearts that are exhibited for the good of the public, or the profit of the exhibitors, are not worth exhibiting. The craving for such documents indicates a mistake of the chief end, in many cases, of biography, which is not to present to the world the opinions, and feelings, and character, of a particular person, so much as to show his course and service, to point out his relations to his race, to assign him his true place in the economy of providence, and thus to contribute a chapter to the public history of righteousness and truth. Now, a man's letters are not the best things to do this. They may or they *may not*, give a better view of the mind than can be obtained otherwise, but they do not give so good a view of the outer man, the man that works and operates in the world. Many things are naturally omitted in friendly epistles, as being

well known to the persons addressed ; and of many more, the least valuable view is given, the view not from without but within—the partial and exaggerated view of the actor, not the cooler, and often juster view of contemporaries and successors. We should be sorry to be thought to disparage Mr. Simeon's correspondence. On the contrary, we highly appreciate it. Many of the letters are full of important truth, and practical sagacity ; but still, they often relate to the same subjects, not unfrequently express the same thoughts, now and then relate to matters which, however pleasant to private friendship, are not likely to be interesting to the public ; and, we frankly confess, in any case, we would gladly dispense with them *all*, in order to possess what the editor proposed, in the first instance, to give, a 'memoir in the usual historical form, *connecting it with the religious events of the times.*' The neglect, to so great an extent, of this connection, is a serious deduction from the value of the work. No one, not previously acquainted with Mr. Simeon's Life and Times, will derive from this book a continuous view of his history, a complete and exact view of his character and gifts, or a just and full view of his position and work in the church and the world. And this is owing to the anxiety to preserve the correspondence. The life is, in a sense, sacrificed to the letters.

The family of the Simeons 'trace their descent directly from the ancient house of the Simeons of Pyrton, in Oxfordshire ; in which country, and that of Stafford, they formerly held very large possessions. Their only male representatives are now to be found in Mr. Simeon's branch of the family : the other branches having terminated in females ; one of whom intermarried with the celebrated JOHN HAMPDEN ; and others are merged in the families of the Welds of Lulworth Castle, and the Lords Vaux of Harrowden.' Mr. Simeon's ancestors, in the two preceding generations, held the living of Bucklebury, in Berkshire, 'a circumstance,' observes the editor, 'which may have had some influence in directing his thoughts to that profession, of which he afterwards became so distinguished and influential a member.' He was the fourth and youngest son of Richard Simeon, Esq., of Reading, where he was born, September 24th, 1759.* While yet very young, he was sent to Eton, where he displayed characteristic vigour and activity, and acquired much fame for feats of agility and strength. His conversion to God, although he had previously been visited with

* The text makes the year 1758 the year of Mr. Simeon's birth, but this must be a misprint. It is unfortunate that one of the very few errors of the press which occur in the volume should relate to so important a particular.

religious impressions and desires, did not take place until after he went to King's College, Cambridge. The occasion of it was singular. These are his words, when writing, in 1832, to a clergyman: 'Your question about *renatus*, I can only answer by saying, that, under God, *I owe everything to Provost Cooke*. I see you full of amazement: 'Pray, explain yourself,' I hear you say. I will, in few words:—On the 29th of January, 1879, I came to college. On February 2nd, I understood that, at division of term, I must attend the Lord's Supper. *The Provost absolutely required it*. Conscience told me, that Satan was as fit to go there as I; and that if I *must* go, I *must* repent, and turn to God, unless I chose to eat and drink my own damnation. From that day I never ceased to mourn and pray, till I obtained progressive manifestations of God's mercy in Christ in the Easter week, and perfect peace on Easter day, April 4th,* —pp. 710, 711.

The early religious course of Mr. Simeon was beset with great difficulties; it is not wonderful that in his circumstances the progress of his mind to full faith and spirituality was slow and unequal. 'As yet, and, indeed, for three years after, I knew not any religious person, and, consequently, continued to have my society among the world. When the races came, I went to them, as I had been used to do, and attended at the race-balls as usual, though without the pleasure which I formerly experienced. I felt them to be empty vanities, but I did not see them to be sinful; I did not then understand those words, '*Be not conformed to this world*,'—pp. 11, 12.

The state of things at college was most unfavourable to his religious growth, not being able to find one, while an undergraduate, who feared God. He appears, however, to have been preserved from the grosser forms of backsliding, with one exception, in 1799, and to have gradually acquired clearer views of truth and duty. On May 26, 1782, he was ordained by the Bishop of Ely, and began his ministry in St. Edward's church ('good old Latimer's pulpit'), which, in a few weeks, he filled with hearers, a thing unknown there for nearly a century. The circumstances of Mr. Simeon's appointment to the living of Trinity Church, were singular. On the death of his brother

* Mr. Simeon was too wise to infer from this happy issue in his own case the excellence of the rule mentioned. 'I am far from considering it a good thing that young men in the university should be compelled to go to the table of the Lord, for it has an evident tendency to lower in their estimation that sacred ordinance, and to harden them in their iniquities; but God was pleased to make use of that compulsion for the good of my soul, and to bring me to repentance by means, which, for the most part, I fear, drive men into a total disregard of all religion.'—p. 7. How true this judgment, and how condemnatory of the system!

Richard, he had prepared to leave Cambridge, in order to reside with his aged father:—

‘Every thing was settled; my books, etc., were just going to be packed up; and in a fortnight I was to leave college for good. But, behold! in that juncture an event took place that decided the plans of my whole life. I had often, when passing Trinity Church, which stands in the heart of Cambridge, and is one of the largest churches in the town, said within myself, ‘How should I rejoice if God were to give me that church, that I might preach his gospel there, and be a herald for him in the midst of the university!’ But as to the actual possession of it, I had no more prospect of attaining it, than of being exalted to the See of Canterbury. It so happened, however, that the incumbent of it (Mr. Therond,) died just at this time, and that the only bishop, with whom my father had the smallest acquaintance, had recently been translated to the See of Ely. I therefore sent off instantly to my father, to desire him to make application to the bishop for the living on my behalf. This my father immediately did; and I waited in college to see the event of his application. The parishioners of Trinity were earnest to procure the living for Mr. Hammond, who had served the parish as curate for some time; and they immediately chose him lecturer, concluding that the living without the lectureship would not be worth any one’s acceptance; it being, even with the surplice-fees, not worth more than forty guineas per annum. They all signed a petition to the bishop in behalf of Mr. H., informing him at the same time, that they had appointed him to the lectureship. The parish being so extremely violent for Mr. H., I went to the vestry, where they were assembled, and told them that I was a minister of peace; that I had no wish for the living but for the sake of doing them good; and that I would, *if upon further reflection it did not appear improper*, write to the bishop to say that I declined any further competition. Accordingly, I went home, and wrote to the bishop precisely to the effect that I had stated in the vestry; but it so happened, that my letter was too late for the post. This being the case, I had the whole night for reflection; and upon reconsidering the matter, I found I had acted very foolishly, for whether the bishop designed to give it me or not, it was unwise; if he did not intend to give it me, my declining it was superfluous; and if he did, it was throwing away an opportunity that might never occur again. I therefore determined to keep back the letter, which indeed my own declaration at the vestry had authorised me to do. But still, having in appearance pledged my word, what was to be done? This I determined with myself; I will wait the event; if the bishop gives Mr. H. the living, it is well; and if he give it me, I will appoint Mr. H. my substitute, with the whole profits of the living, and continue him in the situation as long as he chooses to hold it; and then, if I am alive when he wishes to leave it, I can go and take possession of it as my own, without any risk of having another bishop in that See, or of meeting

with a repulse on renewing my application for it. Thus I shall keep my word most fully with the parish, and yet avoid all the evils which a hasty declining of the living might have occasioned.

'Here then behold to what a situation I was reduced! the living now could not possibly be mine, at least for years to come. Whether the bishop should give it him or me, I was equally precluded from possessing it. But God, in submission to whose will I had made the sacrifice, most marvellously interposed to deliver me from this difficulty. No sooner had I made the declaration in the vestry, than the parishioners, without any authority from me, wrote to the bishop that I had declined: and this brought me a letter from the bishop saying, 'that if I chose to have the living it was at my service; but that, if I declined it, Mr. H. should not have it on any account.'—pp. 40—43.

Mr. Simeon was long before he ceased to suffer the effects of the people's disappointment. They nearly all put locks upon their pews; and when, at his own expense, Mr. Simeon placed forms, and erected open seats for the accommodation of the hearers, the churchwardens removed them. The lectureship being filled by Mr. Hammond, Mr. Simeon had but one opportunity of preaching in the week; he therefore established an evening lecture, but the churchwardens shut the doors against him. In order to prevent those who might be impressed by his preaching being 'drawn away by the dissenters,' he opened a room, that he might meet them himself, and thus keep them together.

Prior to Mr. Simeon's appointment to Trinity, there was scarcely such a thing as evangelical religion, and very little religion of any sort, in the established church at Cambridge. Before his ordination, 'he never was in company with an earnest Christian,' p. 27. He once attended at Trinity Church 'to hear a very popular preacher; and, as he then never turned his back upon the Lord's Supper, he staid during the administration of it; and was himself one of *three*, who, besides the parson and clerk, formed the whole number of the communicants,' p. 788. It is not wonderful, therefore, that the faithful preaching of the gospel should bring upon him severe and continued persecution. His parishioners complained to the bishop, the young gowmsmen disturbed the public worship, and the townsmen followed their example. Nothing could have triumphed over the opposition with which he met, and the difficulties that lay in his path, but that mixture of prudence, gentleness, and firmness, which he exemplified in a remarkable degree. While none could doubt of his honesty, and any attempt to urge him to do what he believed to be wrong would have caused a smile in all who knew him, he was wonderfully free, considering his zeal, from the haste and

rashness that so often prevent the success of the ardent and energetic. He did not unnecessarily expose himself to reproach and suffering, distinguishing between being persecuted as 'an evil doer' and as 'a Christian.' Indeed, very much of his freedom from annoyance and triumph over it, and of the success of his course and ministry, must be traced to his avoidance of opposite extremes. His views of church government and authority were not the highest or strictest. He could say, 'There is no precise line in scripture drawn with respect to church government;' yet he paid a profound deference to office and rule. 'Irregularity' found no favour from him, however pure its pretence or great its apparent utility. Subordination he inculcated, and subordination he displayed. The voice of a bishop was to him the voice of God. The remarks he addressed to a clergyman respecting his brother, who was coming to college, are a fair specimen of his general views and counsel:—'If he go about visiting the sick instead of attending to his academical studies, I shall give my voice against him instantly, that he may be removed: and if he come to college, he must come with the express understanding, that he shall be removed upon the first intimation from the tutor, and not be continued to be dismissed by authority. If he come without a full determination to conform in all things to college discipline and college studies, or with any idea of acting here as he might in a little country parish, he will do incalculable injury to religion. Pray let him understand this, and not come at all, if he is not prepared both to submit to authority and to follow friendly advice.'—p. 433.

It may sometimes be questioned whether he did not carry the doctrine of expediency rather too far, whether he did not sometimes put conciliation in the place of decision, and 'wait' when he should have acted. Paul's advice respecting the disputes between Jewish and Gentile Christians, and his conduct at Jerusalem in reference to the 'vow,' were highly favoured and frequently quoted by him; not always, in our judgment, with exact propriety and relevance. But, beyond doubt, his observance of a 'happy medium' on most subjects indicated a well-balanced and well-regulated mind, and contributed not a little to his influence as a private monitor and public instructor. His judgment, on the whole, was sound. He distinguished between things that differ. The letters to 'a young lady on her duty to her father,' p. 462; to 'a lady on her duty to her husband,' p. 465; to 'the Duchess of Beaufort,' p. 582; are happy illustrations of his habit and power in this matter.

His observations may not be marked by profundity, but they express distinctions which it is important to observe, and which are not always noticed by men of Mr. Simeon's class.

The same moderation obtained in respect of his theological views. These were strictly evangelical, but of the school neither of Calvin nor of Arminius, or, perhaps, it may more truly be said, of both. We do not imagine that Mr. Simeon ever went very deeply into the problems of which these names represent different solutions, or, indeed, that he could go very deeply into them. His mind was not constructed for profound metaphysical investigations, nor was he competent to a high order of criticism. It may be that his mode of treating the opposite sentiments on the vexed questions of theology arose in part from an inability to grapple with them, but we are much mistaken if it was not, nevertheless, the right mode. We shall present it in his own words. In the preface to the '*Horæ Homileticæ*,' he says —

'The author is no friend to systematizers in theology. He has endeavoured to derive from the scriptures alone *his* view of religion, and to them it is his wish to adhere with scrupulous fidelity; never wresting any portion of the Word of God to favour a particular opinion, but giving to every part of it that sense which it seems to him to have been designed by its great Author to convey.

'He is aware that he is likely, on this account, to be considered by the zealous advocates of human systems as occasionally inconsistent; but if he should be discovered to be no more inconsistent than the scriptures themselves, he will have reason to be satisfied. He has no doubt but that there is a system in the holy scriptures (for truth cannot be inconsistent with itself); but he is persuaded that neither Calvinists nor Arminians are in *exclusive* possession of that system. He is disposed to think that the scripture system, be it what it may, is of a broader and more comprehensive character than some very exact and dogmatical theologians are inclined to allow; and that, as wheels in a complicated machine may move in opposite directions, and yet subserve one common end, so may truths *apparently opposite* be perfectly reconcileable with each other, and equally subserve the purposes of God in the accomplishment of man's salvation. This the author has attempted to explain more fully in the preface to his former work. But he feels it impossible to repeat too often, or avow too distinctly, that it is an invariable rule with him to endeavour to give to every portion of the Word of God its full and proper force, without considering one moment what scheme it favours, or whose system it is likely to advance. Of this he is sure, that there is not a decided Calvinist or Arminian in the world who equally approves of the whole of scripture. He apprehends that there is not a determined votary of either system, who, if he had been in the company of St. Paul whilst he was writing his different epistles, would not have recommended him to alter one or other of his expressions.'—pp. 528, 529.

In a freer style he thus expresses the same sentiments in a letter to a reverend friend:—

'Here are two other extremes, Calvinism and Arminianism (for you need not be told how long Calvin and Arminius lived before St. Paul). 'How do you move in reference to these, Paul? In a golden mean?' 'No.' 'To one extreme?' 'No.' 'How then?' 'To both extremes: to-day, I am a strong Calvinist; to-morrow, a strong Arminian.' 'Well, well, Paul, I see thou art beside thyself: go to Aristotle, and learn the golden mean.'

'But, my brother, I am unfortunate: I formerly read Aristotle, and liked him much: I have since read Paul, and caught somewhat of his strange notions *oscillating* (not *vacillating*) from pole to pole. Sometimes I am a high Calvinist, at other times a low Arminian; so that, if extremes will please you, I am your man; only remember, it is not *one* extreme that we are to go, but *both* extremes.'—p. 600.

We shall not inquire how far some of the expressions now quoted may be vindicated, nor assert that Mr. Simeon, in all cases, exemplified that freedom from systematic theology which he claimed to enjoy. It is possible that he said more on this point than, if hardly pressed, he would have been found to mean; or that he meant more, than on a careful investigation, he would have been found to realize. He does not seem to have been fully aware of the deeper difficulties involved in the subjects referred to, and erred in considering his mode of treating them as peculiar, 'a new discovery,' as J. J. Gurney, 'ventured to call it,' and he himself appears to have thought it.* But, whencesoever derived, and however held and applied, it is the right mode, the only safe and philosophical one, of dealing with the records which contain the great mysteries of godliness. Any other, proceeds really on a principle the very opposite of that which is professed and boasted, and is an impeachment of their proper use and full sufficiency as a revelation of truth. Thus diligently eschewing names, ('if, in anything,' were his words, 'he grounded his sentiments upon *human* authority, it would not be on the dogmas of Calvin or Arminius, but on the 'Articles and Homilies of the *Church of England*,' p. 178, upon

* Our readers will perhaps be surprised to find him describe the following (part of a note to a sermon he published) as 'perhaps a harder blow at Calvinism, as an *exclusive system*, than it has ever yet received;' but this only illustrates our remarks above. 'It is worthy of remark, that whilst Calvinists complain of Arminians as unfair and unscriptural in denying *personal*, though they admit *national*, election, they themselves are equally unfair and unscriptural in denying the danger of *personal* apostasy, whilst they admit it in reference to *churches* and *nations*. It is lamentable to see the plain statements of scripture so unwarrantably set aside for the maintaining of human systems. Happy would it be for the church if these distinctions were buried by the consent of all parties, and the declarations of Holy Writ were adhered to by all, without prejudice or partiality!'—p. 566.

which we are not clear that he did not ground some of his sentiments,) and keeping sensitively aloof from the exclusive and unconditional theory of either theological party, his ministry was doubtless more peaceful and fruitful, than it would have been otherwise, and escaped, or removed, a host of prejudices and enmities which many men, not less sincere or sagacious, would have felt and fallen by.

Mr. Simeon had a just estimate of the importance of his position as a minister in a University town, especially as affording him an opportunity of reaching a large number of young men preparing for the ministry. Very soon after the commencement of his labours, the Rev. H. Venn wrote, 'We may, indeed, say, 'a great door is opened!' for several gownsmen hear him,' p. 47. They did not, however, always conduct themselves with propriety, as the following passage will show, while it evinces also the wisdom and energy with which their opposition was met and overcome:—

'As, on some complaints being made to the tutors of one or two colleges, I found that I had nothing to hope for from the university, I was forced to take the matter into my own hands, and maintain by my own energy what I could not expect to be supported in by the proper authorities. Accordingly, I appointed persons to stand with wands in all the aisles; and as the chief disturbance was generally made when the congregation was leaving the church, I always went down from my pulpit the moment the service was finished, and stood at the great north door, ready to apprehend any gownsmen who should insult those who had been at church. I endeavoured always to act with mildness, but yet with firmness; and, through the goodness of God, was enabled to keep in awe every opposer. I requested those who withstood my authority not to compel me to demand their names, because, if once constrained to do that, I must proceed to further measures. This kindness usually prevailed. When it did not, I required the person to call upon me the next morning: nor did ever a single instance occur of a person daring to refuse my mandate. On several occasions, stones were thrown in at the windows, and the offenders escaped; but on one instance a young man, the very minute after he had broken a window, came in. I took immediate measures to secure him, and charged the act upon him; upon which, conceiving himself detected, he acknowledged the truth of the allegation. About this time, the disturbances had risen to such an height, that it was necessary I should make an example. I therefore laid the matter before the vice-chancellor, who, far beyond my most sanguine expectations, acknowledged the enormity of the offence, and offered to proceed with the culprit in any way I should require. I did not wish to hurt the young man; but it was indispensably necessary that I should act in a way that should intimidate all the young men in the university. Unless they should be reduced to order, I must entirely

lay aside my lectures, both on the Sunday and Thursday evenings; but as such a sacrifice would be most injurious to the cause of God in the whole town, I determined either, as we say, to kill or cure. I required that the offender should read, in the midst of the congregation, a public acknowledgment written by myself: and this the young man did on the following Sunday evening, begging pardon of the congregation for having disturbed them; and thanking me for my lenity, in not having proceeded against him with the rigour which his offence deserved. The church was very full of gownsmen; and the young man, in the most conspicuous place in the church, read the acknowledgment immediately after the prayers; and because he, as might have been expected, did not read it so that all the congregation might distinctly hear it, I ordered him to deliver me the paper, and then myself read it in the most audible manner before them all.'—pp. 88—90.

'There was one particular instance, in which a degree of severity on my part was attended with the happiest effects. Two young men, now blessed servants of the Most High God, came into my church in a most disorderly way; and as usual, I fixed my eyes upon them with sternness, indicative of my displeasure. One of them was abashed; but the other, the only one that ever was daring enough to withstand my eye, looked at me again with undaunted, not to say with impious confidence, refusing to be ashamed. I sent for him the next morning, and represented to him the extreme impiety of his conduct, contrasting it with that of those who were less hardened; and warning him *whom* it was that he thus daringly defied; ('He that despiseth you, despiseth me, and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me:') and I enjoined him never to come into that church again, unless he came in a very different spirit. To my surprise, I saw him there again the following Sunday; but with a more modest countenance: and from that time he continued to come, till it pleased God to open his eyes and to lead him into the full knowledge of the gospel of Christ; and in a year or two afterwards he became a preacher of that faith which he once despised.'*—pp. 92, 93.

Although no fair estimate can be formed from the volume before us of the amount of good which resulted from Mr. Simeon's labours among this class, it is clear from the notices which it contains, that he was made an extensive blessing to it. His church was crowded with young collegians, very many of whom became faithful, and not a few eminent, preachers of the truth. He was far from confining his efforts for their welfare to

* "As this narrative agrees precisely with the account Mr. S. would often give of the remarkable change, effected under similar circumstances, in two members of his own college; there can be no doubt that the persons here referred to were those two eminently devout men and his attached friends—Richard Godley, and the honoured biographer of Henry Martyn—John Sargent."

the pulpit. He made their acquaintance, encouraged their visits, took a deep interest in their religious progress, and held regular and frequent meetings with them. 'I have an open day, when all who choose it come to take their tea with me. Every one is at liberty to ask what questions he will, and I give to them the best answer I can. Hence a great variety of subjects come under review—subjects which we could not discuss in the pulpit—and the young men find it a very edifying season. We have neither exposition, as such, nor prayer; but I have an opportunity of saying all that my heart can wish, without the formality of a set ordinance,' p. 641. Of one of these meetings, 'the most interesting and solemn Friday evening meeting,' the writer ever attended, we have 'a graphic and accurate description,' pp. 648—654, from which our space will not allow us to quote. We can easily understand how such assemblies of the pious members of the university should exert a powerful influence in maintaining and maturing their religious principles, though they might not do much, judging from this account, to promote keen and comprehensive thought.*

But if Mr. Simeon was diligent in preparing ministers for churches, he was no less so in providing churches for ministers. Many of our readers must have heard of 'Simeon's Churches.' They are real, positive, entities. Every godly mind in the Establishment must mourn over the immense obstacles which it presents to an evangelic ministry. They are absolutely appalling. Nor is the prospect of their removal near at hand. These obstacles are found in the system of *church patronage*. It is all very well to speak of the theological accuracy of the Articles of the Church of England, and the inimitable excellencies of its Liturgy; admitting them, which we do not, a matter of far greater meaning and importance is *the faith and character of its pastors*. Let its doctrines be true, how are they to be introduced into its pulpits? To this question, a true churchman can give no answer. He cannot, consistently with his own system, invade the territories of an ungodly minister, nor can he any more consistently prevent the entrance of ungodly ministers into livings by making a purchase of them. This last was

* Might not leading ministers among dissenters take a leaf out of Mr. Simeon's book? The students of our colleges may not be as dependent on extra-collegiate fostering as were the Cambridge under-graduates, but might not more *pastoral* influence be exerted upon them during their collegiate course, with happy effect? We do not suppose the want of this is owing altogether to the neglect of pastors. Students are in fault sometimes, in not seeking, and perhaps even in avoiding, it. But it is much to be desired that both were brought more together, in a way of cordial and manly fellowship.

what Mr. Simeon did, with noble fidelity to his Christian faith, but with gross inconsistency with the theory of his church. Leaving out his right, as a churchman, to do it, it was a wise thing to do, and he did it wisely. But what a revelation does it afford of the state and working of the 'holy mother church,' which evangelic clergymen are so enamoured with, and of which they often speak as of the perfection of beauty and power, that good men should deem it their duty to purchase livings in order that the gospel may be preached, and that many among the most useful and popular of living ministers should owe their position to the practice? It would be perfectly incomprehensible to us, did we not know the blinding influence of education and habit, especially in things religious and ecclesiastical, how those who sanction, and profit by, the course of Henry Thornton, Simeon, and others, can yet laud in no meek and measured terms the 'venerable establishment' of these lands. They are themselves plain and palpable proofs of its wretched plight. That they only do what others, from a different and worse motive do, does not improve their case. We speak strongly upon this subject, for we have no notion of delicacy where the interests of immortal souls are sacrificed to a system which presents as sheer a mockery, and as foul an abuse, as ever disgraced the names of 'religion' and 'church.' Were we so minded, we could fill an article, and not a short one, with illustrations taken from Simeon's life, of the 'evils' of Church of Englandism, although it is certain that neither was he the man to detect or confess them fully, nor is his editor the man to publish them. Such passages as the following suggest solemn questions, which, it is greatly to be feared, evangelical churchmen are too familiar with to appreciate:—

'In another quarter there has been most cruel persecution. The Bishop of ——— has refused orders to two excellent young men, on account of what he called Calvinism. I should fill sheets of paper if I were to state to you their case.'—p. 427, 428. 'Behold, the rector of the parish has refused to give his consent to the Jews' Chapel being opened in the establishment. . . . Ten thousand chapels may be built and opened by dissenters, 'will ye, nill ye,' but a chapel that was, (I believe,) consecrated, but certainly licensed as a French Refugee Chapel, is not suffered to be filled by an established minister; were it not that I know who reigns, my soul would sink within me.'—p. 440. 'I have been called to dispose of no less than six livings, in all of which I have placed ministers, without reference to any thing but their peculiar fitness for the place they are sent to occupy. *This* is the great reform wanted in our church; and if generally carried into effect by all who have patronage in the church, it would supersede all occasion for any further

reform. (!!) If it did not stop the mouths of dissenters, it would diminish their numbers, and effectually prevent their increase.*—p. 752.

The editor has not put us into possession of the details of Mr. Simeon's purchases of livings for the gospel's sake, but it is evident enough, that he entered into the business with a spirit of zeal, discernment, and conscientiousness. The *first* is seen in the large sums that he devoted, and obtained, for this purpose. 'The securing of a faithful ministry in influential places would justify any outlay of money that could be expended on it; and if I were able to effect it by any funds of my own, they would be most gladly supplied for the attainment of so great an end.'—p. 780. The *second* appears in his selection of places. These were chosen, as all fields of labour should be, on account of their worth as 'spheres,' having a large population and central importance. The *last* was strikingly manifested in his disregard of all considerations but the 'peculiar fitness' of the persons appointed to the livings, for the scenes of their ministry. The 'high principle' on which he always acted is thus given in his own words:—

'The rules I lay down for myself are these:—

'1st. To consider truly, as before God, who is, all things considered, the fittest for the particular sphere.

'2nd. To inquire carefully, whose removal to a new sphere will be least injurious to any other place; because, if I take a person from a large sphere, which will not be well supplied afterwards, I do an injury, rather than a service, to the church at large.

'3rd. On a supposition, things be equal in these two respects, *but not otherwise*, to prefer the person whose circumstances are most straitened. It is for the *people*, and for the *church of God* that we are to provide, and not for any individual, whatever be his necessities, his virtues, or his attainments.'—p. 382.

We are reluctantly compelled to pass by many things we intended to quote, and many which we intended to say. We suppose, however, that the work (being in but one volume, though a bulky one), will be seen by most of our readers, which diminishes our regret. It is well worth the perusal of all who take an interest in the modern history of the gospel, though in rela-

* Very little appears in this volume respecting Mr. Simeon's views of, or conduct towards, the dissenters. He speaks as if he greatly dreaded his people being 'drawn away' by them, and rejoiced in his success in keeping all but 'three' from them; but he could appreciate real piety, as in the case of J. J. Gurney, out of the establishment. Judging from his remarks about the Liturgy, pp. 300, 301, and Baptism, pp. 302, 545, Dissenters would not have found him a very formidable opponent.

tion to that its value might have been much increased. It also, as might have been expected, contains pleasant and impartial notices of many individuals not unknown to fame, as the names of Venn, Martyn, H. K. White, Thomason, and Wilberforce, will sufficiently indicate; and of the rise and progress of many movements which constitute the glory of our own day; societies for sending out missionaries, circulating the Bible, and converting the Jews, having enlisted Mr. Simeon's warmest affections and most energetic services. These and other matters we must omit.

The last time Mr. Simeon appeared in the pulpit was on Sunday morning, September 18, 1836, when he preached from 2 Kings, x. 16, 'Come with me, and see my zeal for the Lord.' Although in high health and spirits on the Tuesday following, he made the following remarks to a friend:—'Well, though I am talking of putting things by for my journey to Bath next June, the Lord knows that I am thinking, and *longing* to a certain degree, for a *far better journey*, which in a few days I shall take; but I find it difficult to realize the thought that I am so near the eternal world; I cannot imagine what a spirit is, I have no conception of it. But I rejoice in the thought that my coffin is already cut down, and in the town at this very time; of this I have no doubt; and my shroud is also ready; and in a few days I shall join the company of the redeemed above.'—pp. 801, 802. The next day, he went to Ely, to pay his respects to his new bishop, being anxious, as one of the oldest of the clergy, to be among the very first to show him honour. The day was damp and chilly, and he, feeling vigorous, dispensed with his ordinary outer dress.

'The bishop received him with marked kindness and attention; and proposed that they should go together to see the cathedral. Here they lingered too long; the coldness soon began sensibly to affect Mr. Simeon, and was the direct cause of the severe illness, from which he never recovered. The next morning early he was seized with a violent rheumatic attack, and, during the day, became so seriously indisposed as to be unable to leave his room for the evening lecture. The sermon he had intended to preach was upon Luke xi. 1, 'Lord, teach us to pray,'—and this was the last subject he ever prepared for the pulpit.'—p. 803.

He lingered for nearly two months, presenting, in deep abasement and holy joy, one of the most glorious and blessed death-bed scenes it has ever been our privilege to read of. But we must hasten to his end.

'During the last few days of his life, his bodily sufferings were often excruciating, and his strength so impaired that his voice was

scarcely audible. He then observed to his attendant, 'Jesus Christ is my 'all in all' for my *soul*; and now you must be my all for my *body*; I cannot tell you any longer what I want, or ask for anything. I give my body into your charge; you must give me what you think necessary.' Afterwards, when he had revived a little, he remarked, 'It is said, 'O death where is thy sting?'' then looking at us, as we stood around his bed, he asked, in his own peculiarly expressive manner, 'Do you see any *sting here*?' We answered, 'No, indeed, it is all taken away.' He then said, 'Does not this *prove* that my principles were not founded on fancies or enthusiasm; but that there is 'a *reality* in them, and *I find them sufficient to support me in death*?'

'On Friday afternoon (Nov. 11), as we were standing by his side, lamenting his long-protracted sufferings, (which, from Wednesday had been at times exceedingly severe), he at length made an effort to lift his hands from the bed (on our assisting him to raise them, he extended them to us; one on each side, he was at this time unable to speak), and then, for the last time, placed them together in the attitude of devout prayer; after this, he stretched them out to us once more, and so took, as it seemed to us, his final leave. His life was now fast ebbing away; he lay partially raised, his head drooping on one side, but supported by pillows, his eyes closed, and his hands stretched out motionless on the bed; nothing could be more solemn and venerable than his whole appearance. As we were now afraid of disturbing him, we refrained from any further observations.' — p. 824.

The respect paid to Mr. Simeon at his funeral was most honourable to his character and course. The shops, in the principal part of the town, closed; the lectures, in almost every college, suspended; the pall borne by the eight senior fellows; the crowded chapel; the young men of the university all in mourning, and deeply affected by their loss; presented a striking contrast to the circumstances of his early ministry. 'Though his beginning was small, his latter end was greatly increased.' 'Them that honour me, I will honour.'

Mr. Simeon was a striking instance, in his own way and sphere, of the immense importance of *individual labour and influence*. We are quite aware that a difference of opinion obtains, and obtains among the members of his own church, and the holders of his own theological views, as to the precise work which he performed in the world, and we are by no means disposed to adopt an indiscriminate estimate of its nature or extent; yet, after all deductions, enough is left to excite the admiration and gratitude of all true Christians. In considering the influence of spiritual instructors and leaders, the number of their converts is but one of the things to be regarded, and not always the most important thing. Some men are ten times as important in themselves, and in their relation to the world, as other men. Conversion itself

may be almost eclipsed in glory by the expansion of mind, and quickening of moral and spiritual affections, which may take place in those already converted. And, without the production of direct and immediate good, it is possible to provide the materials and lay the foundation of a future usefulness to the cause of Christianity, broader, fuller, and more lasting than the most splendid present results of labour. Mr. Simeon was not a great man, and he did not make great men. He was not, in any sense, the founder of a school. He developed no hidden truth or power of the word of life. He opened up no new defence of the gospel. He vindicated not its principles with the might and mastery of lofty genius. The good he did came to light and perfection at once. He rejoiced in the fruits of his labour. We say not this with a view of disparaging strictly spiritual influence, or in forgetfulness of a certain immortality in its products. There can be no doubt that the subject of these remarks was blessed of God to the conversion and confirmation of an immense number of Christians, and Christian ministers, and to the extensive revival of attention and respect to a neglected and despised faith. The church of England is indebted to him above nearly all modern men for its religious vitality and power. It may be that those who are termed 'evangelical' among its clergy are not, in general, the loftiest specimens of intelligent and manly piety; that their faith is often timid and bigotted; that their charity lacks breadth and generosity, and that their preaching is meagre and commonplace; yet are they an important religious element in the established church, and their influence extends to sections that are not forward to own their fellowship. Of this class Simeon, more than any other, must be considered as the 'father.' 'He was the companion and instructor of thirteen or fourteen generations of young students.' He was the means of their conversion; he was their professor of theology; he expounded to them the scriptures; he taught them how to make sermons, and how to preach them, even to their tones of voice; and, beyond them, he diffused the savour of Christ far and wide. All the institutions with which he was connected felt the power of his name. The educated, the rich, the exalted in rank, the high in office, learned in him to honour what, in many cases, they did not understand. What was the secret and source of all this? The only answer is one that should be deeply pondered. 'As the man is, so is his strength.' There was nothing outward or accidental to interpret his success. His position had been filled in vain by others. He had no wonderful abilities, no wonderful attainments, no wonderful eloquence. But his 'heart was right with God.' He honoured God, and God honoured him. Not only was he a Christian, he was an eminent

Christian. It is impossible to read his Life and letters without perceiving that 'the love of Christ constrained him' to service and sacrifice. Says one who knew him well, 'Never did I see such consistency and reality of devotion—such warmth of piety—such zeal and love. Never did I see one who abounded so much in prayer.'—p. 67. 'During the period of his residence at King's, he invariably rose every morning, though it was the winter season, at four o'clock; and, after lighting his fire, he devoted the first four hours of the day to private prayer, and the devotional study of the scriptures.'—p. 67. Thus 'alive unto God,' all his energies were devoted to his work, and a visible and impressive sanctity marked his character. Though naturally somewhat vain and irritable, his infirmities were brought into subjection, and he learned to 'love the valley of humiliation,' and to delight in doing good to his fiercest foes. Faith in God sustained him in adversity, and preserved him from pride and boasting in prosperity. He was always at work, and always found it his reward. If he originated nothing, he taught much. He was not weary in well doing. He lived in his labour. He was married to his church. Seldom has there been an example of more generous self-denial. If any one feature of his character was more prominent than the rest, it was his entire devotedness, irrespective of personal considerations, to the cause he loved. He seemed to value money literally for nothing but its power of doing good. It was a habit with him. 'His whole income in 1780 (the second year of his residence in college), was only £125; and, after gradually increasing for fourteen years, it became in 1793 about £300 per annum. On examining the mode of its disbursement during this period, it seems to have been his plan regularly to dispose of *one third* of his income in charity.'—pp. 17, 18. The same spirit, in part, led him to remain a bachelor all his days; to decline 'all the livings in his college which in succession were offered to his choice;' and to devote the fruits of his labours to private and public works of benevolence. The following extract, from a memorandum in 1816, will illustrate the principles upon which he acted:—

'Last week I returned from Bristol, where I witnessed a thing almost unprecedented in the annals of the world; a whole city combining to fill up, by their united exertions, the void made in all charitable institutions by the loss of one man, Richard Reynolds, a member of the society called quakers. Having myself acted in some measure upon that idea, in relation to my dear and honoured brother, Edward Simeon, I take this opportunity of recording it for the satisfaction of myself and my executors.

'My brother was extremely liberal, and did good to a vast extent.

At his death an exceeding great void would have been made, if I had not determined to accept a part of his property, and to appropriate it to the Lord's service, and the service of the poor. The loss they would have sustained being about £700 or £800 a year, I suffered my brother to leave me £15,000, and have regularly consecrated the interest of it to the Lord, and shall (D. v.) continue to do so to my dying hour. Had I wished for money for my own use, I might have had half his fortune; but I wanted nothing for myself; being determined (as far as such a thing could be at any time said to be determined) to live and die in college, where the income which I previously enjoyed (though moderate in itself) sufficed, not only for all my own wants, but for liberal supplies to the poor also.

'These things are well known at present in our college, (Mr. —, in particular, as a counsel, examined my brother's will, wherein there is proof sufficient of these things); but at a future period they may be forgotten, and persons may wonder that with my income I did not resign my fellowship. The fact is, I have not increased my own expenditure above fifty pounds a year, nor do I consider myself as anything but a steward of my deceased brother for the poor. It is well known that, long previous to his death, I refused what was considered as the best living of our college; and should equally refuse anything that the king himself could offer me, that should necessitate me to give up my present situation, and especially my church. And I write this now, that if, after my decease, it should be asked, 'Why did he not vacate his fellowship?' my executors may have a satisfactory answer at hand.'—pp. 433—435.

This was not a spasmodic effort of charity and zeal. It was of a piece with his whole life. This disinterestedness was uniform. He lived not for himself; he recognized his stewardship, and was faithful to his trust; and thus 'saved himself and those that heard him.'

It would be wrong to omit all notice of Mr. Simeon as an *author*. He did wisely in one respect. He chose one field of authorship, and continued to labour in it to the end. This does not fully express the unity of his toil. He wrote but one work, and enlarged and improved it, until he could regard its stereotyped edition as a reason for a thankful review of life, and a quiet experience of death. Under date May 24, 1833, we have this Memorandum: 'This day God has vouchsafed to me the two richest blessings (next to the enjoyment of himself) that my soul could desire. 1. I have this day received from the Archbishop of Canterbury his permission to dedicate my work to him. 2. I have this day received the last five volumes, and see the work complete—the ship is launched. This last was the only thing for which I wished to live, so to speak, and I now sing my *Nunc dimittis*,' p. 716. Our readers, not perhaps, generally acquainted with this work, will be prepared by these references

to find it both large and important. Its origination and completion were on this wise. After Mr. Simeon had for some time been engaged in giving instruction to a select class of students on the composition of sermons, during which time he had proved the value of Mr. Claude's rules, of whose Essay he had made an abridgement, he thought it desirable in 1796, to publish a new and improved edition of that Essay, adopting Mr. Robinson's translation, and appending one hundred sketches of sermons, to 'simplify the theory, and set it in a practical light.' This was the germ of a work which grew at last to *twenty-one volumes, containing two thousand five hundred and thirty-six sermons*. Mr. Simeon bestowed great labour on this work. It was according to his heart. He delighted in preaching, and, which is a somewhat different thing, in sermonizing. Few of his sermons, says Bishop Wilson, 'cost him less than twelve hours of study; many, twice that time; and some, several days. He once told the writer that he had recomposed the plan of one sermon nearly thirty times.' Neat in mind as in person, with considerable constructiveness, a good 'plan' afforded him 'a joy' which no 'stranger' to such compositions could 'intermeddle with.' He possessed, likewise, correct notions in general, respecting what a plan should be. That each sermon should have but one subject, that the real sense of each passage discussed should be ascertained and adhered to, and that the spirit, as well as the signification of it, should be duly regarded; these and such like canons he exemplified and insisted on with commendable diligence and zeal. It will surprise none, therefore, to be told that in his twenty-one volumes are many admirable specimens of sermonizing, and that 'all Claude's modes of composition,' and 'the mode of taking a text for a motto, which Claude does not mention,' are presented in living, (we beg pardon) in 'skeleton' forms. At the same time, we must be permitted to express a very qualified approval of the whole system of which Mr. Simeon was so voluminous a patron. Had he confined himself to his original idea, had he contented himself with illustrations of the principal methods of treating texts, the character of his mind and his great experience would have enabled him to give good counsel and example to others; but never, in the history of authorship, has there been so marked an instance of over-doing as in the case of these twenty-one volumes of skeletons. We cannot see how evil, on the largest scale, should not come out of them. That it has come, we know. To say that young clergymen need such assistance, is to pronounce the most severe condemnation on the state of clerical education, or clerical intellect, in the establishment. The mere

knowledge that such a work exists, and is extensively used, cannot fail to diminish the respect and confidence of intelligent hearers, while the use of it is almost sure to retard the progress, and damage the power, of preachers. Help is often the greatest hindrance, and never more than in this matter. He who cannot do far better without the plan of another than with it, must be strangely deficient in the qualities necessary to an able minister of the New Testament. And were it otherwise, the habit of adopting and filling up plans ready to the hand, must, we are convinced, seriously interfere with the real and healthy advance, even in the way of mere sermonizing, of all men fitted to their work. That there are multitudes of ministers who are dependent on such assistance, is beyond all doubt, but we are not careful respecting them. The gospel could very well dispense with their services. Their 'silence' would be more 'expressive' than their speech, and yield a truer 'praise.' These opinions are not new with us. They are not made for the occasion. They have been uttered before, and in reference to similar works to Mr. Simeon's, from the pens of dissenting authors. Our 'wisdom,' if such it be, is 'without partiality.' At the same time, we do not believe that among dissenting ministers there is anything like the extensive use of borrowed plans and sermons which obtains in the established church.* Our preachers are generally better taught in the gospel, have greater zeal in its diffusion, and our system of collegiate instruction and habit fits them more fully for their work. But wherever this plan obtains, it is a 'delusion, a mockery, and a snare.' It would be wrong, however, to charge on Mr. Simeon the evils which we think inseparable from the system he encouraged. 'I would recommend,' says he, 'no person to use them (the plans) servilely. A mere tyro may study one discourse first, and then write for himself, in his own language, the substance of it. But, after a few months, he will do better to form his own plan first, and then consult what is here written'—p. 7. But what he advised, and what has been the actual and natural result of his work, are two things. It is to be remembered that he had to deal with a

* "The earth helps the woman." Dissenters often unwittingly support the church, yea, are often admitted to its pulpits! Few have any conception of the extent to which the sermons of nonconformists are preached in the churches of the establishment. We know a parish church, with a large congregation, in which an Irish orator delivered with great glory and much applause the sermons of Messrs. Jay and Parsons. A leading minister among us went one afternoon into the church of a fashionable watering-place and heard himself preach!

peculiar state of things. When he began thus providing for other men's pulpits, preaching was at a low ebb in the establishment. He was naturally seduced by the 'better than nothing' principle, and no doubt also sought, and not in vain, to 'catch with guile.' This, though some excuse for *him*, does not enable *us* to look with greater favour on a system which tends to conceal disease with a false bloom of health; to uphold such as should fall, and cause to stumble such as can better go alone; and, by engendering suspicion among people, and making a lazy, artificial, and insincere ministry, to bring into discredit all truth and teaching.

ART. V.—*Xenophon's Memorabilia of Socrates. From the Text of Kühner. With Copious Notes, &c.* By D. B. Hickie, LL.D., Head-Master of Archbishop Sandys's Grammar-School, Hawkshead. London, Longman, 1847.

THIS is a new edition of a useful book, the Greek type of which does much credit to the printer, although the lines are too close for our taste. The state of the text was never bad; and after Dindorf's and Kühner's labours upon it, nothing more probably is to be desired. The very ample notes in this volume, most of them verbal, belong to a class of comments which do not win our admiration. They are generally couched in language too generalizing and *quasi*-philosophic to be intelligible by learners, or likely to be read at school; and a very large part of them is superfluous to every kind of student. When the text has been avowedly taken from Kühner, petty remarks on the readings serve for nothing, but to display a sort of learning in the writer, and fill up space. We open at random in p. 181, and our eyes light on the following: 'Συνουσίαν. Thus seven Parisian MSS., Ald., Junt., Steph., and Dindorf. The common edd. have ξυνουσίαν. Comp. i. 2, 18.' Again, in the same page, sec. 4: 'Ernesti and Schneider omit γὰρ, with one MS.

and Bessario's translation, and remove the stop after τάναντία.' We have carefully gone through a certain proportion of the notes, which every where show great diligence, are generally correct, and often useful, though their useful parts might have been compressed into a quarter, and sometimes the tenth part of the space. Occasionally it seems to us that Dr. Hickie goes wrong, especially from trusting too much to the guides whom he follows and carefully quotes. We select the two first pages for a few criticisms.

Page 105, book i. sec. i. 'Τίσι ποτέ λόγοις, for οἷσισι ποτέ λόγοις—*By whatever arguments*. The pronouns of direct interrogation, τίς, ποῖος, πότερος, &c., are often put for those of indirect interrogation, ὅστις, ὁποῖος, ὁπότερος, &c. Comp. Jelf, Gr. Gr. sec. 877, obs. 2. The Latin *tandem* is sometimes used in the same sense as ποτέ here. Comp. iii. 14, 2, iv. 2, 6.' [The last remark about *tandem* and ποτέ is correct; but for that very reason the rendering 'by *whatever arguments*' is wholly wrong. If he had turned it, 'I have often wondered *by what arguments* the accusers of Socrates *ever* persuaded the people,'—this, though homely English, would have been as close as our idiom admits. The whole note might be well superseded by the following: 'Τί ποτε—what *in the world?* nearly as the Latin *quid tandem?* The interrogation is indirect in τίσι ποτέ λόγοις, yet τίς is as good as ὅστις for that use. See Jelf, &c.']

'Τοιάδε τις ἦν,—*Was somewhat in this manner*. Τίς is elegantly added to pronouns to render them indefinite. Here it has the force of the Latin *ferē*. Comp. ii. 6, 11; iii. 6, 5. Viger iii. sec. 11, 11. So ὡδέ πως, ii. 1, 21.' [We see nothing *elegant* in the idiom, any more than in the English 'somehow thus.' It is merely homely and expressive. The whole matter is contained in the following:—

τοιάδε ἦν,—it was *such* as this.

τοιάδε τις ἦν,—it was *such a one* as this.

The former is not the less elegant. Dr. Hickie's rendering is a gratuitous deviation from the sense, not likely to aid a learner.]

'Ἀδικεῖ Σωκράτης. The omission of μέν is rare in prose writers. Comp. ii. 2, 8; ii. 6, 22; ii. 8, 5. Hellen. v. 1, 28. It more frequently happens where corresponding clauses are at some distance from each other. Comp. i. 2, 21; iii. 13, 5; Jelf, sec. 767.' [There is *no omission* of μέν here. The sentence 'Ἀδικεῖ δὲ καὶ is an afterthought, as indeed καὶ implies. To insert μέν would change the sense. The whole note is superfluous.]

Page 106, sec. 5. 'ἐδόκει δ' αὖν.—Imperfect for the pluperfect—*And he would have appeared*, &c. So frequently in Latin

authors also. Comp. Cicero Tusc. i. 12, 27.' [To say that the imperfect is here *put for* the pluperfect misleads a learner, as if this were a liberty. On the contrary, the imperfect with *ἄν* is the standard method in the best Greek. Jelf more accurately says, (vol. of SYNTAX, 1842, p. 78), that 'the pluperfect is *put for the imperfect*,' as we see in later authors.]

On the whole, while Dr. Hickie belongs to a school of annotators which understands *book-making* too well, he is a very respectable sample of the school. Boys, moreover, have great skill in omitting and forgetting whatever would perplex them; and a great many notes to which we object as elaborately missing the truth will probably in fact, be very innocuous, because they will not be read. We mean such as the following (p. 110, sec. 2):—

'Ἄλλ' ἔπαυσε μὲν. Ἄλλὰ refers to the answer of the foregoing question in the negative: *On the contrary he withdrew*, &c. Comp. sec. 27, ii. 6, 21. 'Πάειν, *avocare, abstrahere, vel vi vel verbis*,' Sturz. [If *πάειν* deserves any note, it is as follows: '*Πάειν—to cause to cease; παύσθαι (neut.)—to cease*. Yet in vulgar Attic, *πάειν* is neuter. When active, it may often be well rendered, *to stop, to hinder, to put an end to*.' The rendering of Sturz, quoted so formally, can have no tendency but to throw dust in a learner's eyes.]

The volume commences with a chronological table, partaking of the fault of the notes, in straining too much after accuracy; which is not so to be gained. For the sake of illustrating the lives of Socrates and Xenophon, it begins from *the arrival of Cecrops I. in Attica*, tells us the year of accession of various Athenian kings, the date of *the foundation of Troy (!)* the birth of Theseus, the year in which *he killed the Minotaur*; the abduction of Helen by Theseus; her later abduction by Paris, &c. Does Mr. Hickie really believe in the Minotaur? And whatever his own opinion of the legendary times, yet when the foremost school of Greek history (of whom Thirlwall and Grote are the English types) look on the personal existence of Theseus as more than questionable, and believe no chronology earlier than the Olympiads to be attainable, is he doing justice to a learner in thus reprinting an old-fashioned dogmatical table, without warning the student that such dates are regarded as rubbish by our first scholars? The table occasionally diverges into narrative, especially in the year 400 B.C., when Socrates was put to death. An error is there made (p. xix.) about the Athenian laws, which, it is said, called on a criminal who had been condemned *to mention the death he preferred*, instead of which Socrates claimed of the jury public honours, &c. This

is a mistake. He had to state *what he believed to be his legal or appropriate punishment*. The accuser gave in also *his valuation*, and the jury had to choose between the two, for they were generally too numerous to compose a verdict themselves. If Socrates had estimated the offence of which he had been convicted (for it was his duty to assume the justness of the first verdict) as deserving some severe fine, the jury would probably have sentenced him to this only. But when he gave as his estimate, that he deserved a seat of honour in the Prytaneium all his life, and there to be maintained at the public expense, &c., and *forced them either to award this or accept the accuser's estimate*, a larger number voted for his death than had voted him guilty. This is the right explanation of Dr. Hickie's facts. Thirlwall however believes that Socrates was finally induced to assess himself in a small fine. The elaborate panegyrics of Xenophon seem to us very onesided. Neither Thirlwall nor Arnold will be likely to allow to Dr. Hickie that Xenophon was 'a liberal and enlightened statesman;' much less will they 'acknowledge his candour and fairness as a historian.'

At the next edition of this book, we would strongly advise the author to prune down all its appendages with a very free hand, and what remains will then have a better chance of being read and appreciated.

ART. VI.—1. *The First and Second Reports of the Committee of the House of Lords upon the Criminal Law.* 1847.

2. *Report of the Proceedings at the Penitentiary Congress at Frankfort, the 28th, 29th, and 30th of September, 1846.* (German and French)

3. *Proceedings of the Penitentiary Congress at Brussels, in September, 1847.*

4 *Debates in the French Chamber of Deputies from the 22nd of April, to the 18th of May, 1844, upon a bill for the Reform of Prisons, with notes.* By Monsieur Moreau-Christophe, Inspector-General of the Prisons of France. Paris. 8vo. 1845.

5. *Report of a Committee of the French Chamber of Peers on the Prisons' Bill, 24th April, 1847.*

THERE is great danger in sleeping on important public questions. It was whilst the good man slept, that the tares were sown. The Archbishop of Dublin, and Sir William Molesworth, have brought the abolition of transportation into jeopardy by having slept upon it these ten years past. Mr. Ewart, and his really sincere colleagues, who could have carried the reform of prisons ten years ago, have sadly dosed the time away. The Buxtons and Gurneys have been sound as rocks, or worse, for the same period; and South Africa, New Zealand, the Australias, and West Africa, have paid a bitter price for their sleep. It is a plain consequence of this falling away of the philanthropists, that philanthropy has sunk in public estimation; for unworthy men have, meanwhile, made a market of its good works.

In the matter of criminal law reform, however, Lord Brougham has overshot the mark; and the mischief he has meditated will be staved off by his blunders. It is not to be concealed, that a comparison of the Report of his lordship's committee on criminal law, with the foreign speeches, resolutions, and bills on the same subject, referred to in the heading of this article, suggests the humiliating reflection, that we are sunk from the high station we formerly held as a humane and an enlightened nation. It was once the pride of England, that its common law abhorred torture; that its constitution rejected slavery; and that its colonial conquests carried free institutions where despotism had prevailed for centuries. Her Howards, in earning immortality by unwearied efforts in prison reform, secured universal homage to the country which could produce such men.

In 1847, however, the highest authority of the land proclaims doctrines which exhibit us as a century behind the Americans, the French, the Germans, and half-a-dozen other civilized

nations, in the improvement of penal discipline. The committee of the House of Lords of last session has declared itself the advocate of the transportation of convicts to our colonies; and its chairman, Lord Brougham, from whom better was to have been expected, disregarding the prophetic warning of his predecessor, Bacon, and the demonstrations of his preceptor, Bentham, justified by half a century of frightful experience in New South Wales, has taken the lead in defending the most corrupting mode of criminal justice known to ancient or modern times. It required an exhibition of this kind to illustrate the character of the fallen Whig chancellor. Lord Brougham went into the committee the avowed opponent of a reform opened by ministers in this branch of the criminal law; he managed the committee by a gross resistance to the truth; and the committee so managed, recommends the continuance of transportation on grounds which knowledge of the truth would have shown to be untenable. The time selected for this perversity aggravates the evil. It is the precise moment when the great difficulty of the subject—a better disposal of convicts than by transportation—has reached a satisfactory solution in every civilized country.

The Lords' committee is not quite unaware of the vast improvement effected lately in prison discipline; but its vision is obscured by false prepossessions, and by an unusual amount of ignorance.

An analysis of the authentic accounts of that improvement, which are seen in continental documents, will be the best refutation of their lordships' opinion that criminals cannot be corrected without being sent to the Antipodes, with the awfully impracticable condition, that 'measures shall be taken to remedy the existing disproportion of the sexes in the CONVICT colonies.'

Their lordships profess to have studied the existing state of prison discipline on the Continent. Yet they declare that death and transportation *alone* have salutary terrors for convicts; and especially that no hope exists that any mode of imprisonment can be made available for such end. Again, they reject the consideration of the improved mode of imprisonment because '*no sufficient experience has been had of it.*' More incredible still, the Lords' committee recommends Parkhursts—not *Mettrays*, of which they seem to have no clear idea—'combined with a moderate use of *corporal* punishment.' In other words, they would send invalids to the pure air of Malvern, with a diet of nux vomica or prussic acid. Lord Brougham, too, a member of the Institute, and a landed proprietor of France, is so little acquainted with French prison discipline in 1847, as to talk of it as if confined to Bagnes, and the old *travaux forcés*; or as if French criminal jurists and

philanthropists despaired of relieving society from mischievous released convicts, by a good penitentiary system, and by proper care of the penitents after punishment. So eager, indeed, is Lord Brougham's committee to discover an argument in favour of transportation, that it curiously illustrates 'the danger' to 'which society is exposed in the residence of liberated convicts,' by the example of *Christiana, the capital of Norway*, forgetting that punished convicts are liberated with safety in Belgium, Holland, Denmark, and throughout all Germany.

No doubt, the question, what is to be done with convicts after punishment, is a most difficult one. But it is a question which has been discussed by the great nations of Europe in a statesman-like manner for the last ten years, whilst we have neglected it. Hear what was said in France on the subject in 1844 by eminent men. During several years, the French government had examined the question with a solicitude befitting its importance, and without under-rating the obstacles opposed to its satisfactory settlement. In the course of their debates upon prison reform in 1844, those obstacles assumed a grave character. Among others who supported the government most zealously on the occasion were M. de Tocqueville, and M. Cremieux. To the objections made to the introduction of *reformatory* prisons, that the attempt was hopeless, for the common voice of society loudly rejected the punished from all social occupation, all contact with the pure, these eminent men said :—

'It is an unsound objection to the bill, that it seeks to introduce the principle of reforming convicts into the criminal code of France in the place of the principle of punishment. Criminals must undoubtedly be punished ; and the bill provides punishment, and leaves punishment enough. But it does wisely in doing more ; it provides for their reform. What ! are we ever to despair of reforming our erring fellow-men ? Are we to drive them eternally out of the reach of hope ; and, by refusing to them the hand of compassion, to compel them for mere existence to fall again into a career of crime ? Are we to create for them a legal hell, and mercilessly close for ever its gates upon them ? Why, that is to return to pure paganism ; when the common Christianity of the civilized world has long reversed that cruel creed ! There is no one thing in all the grand designs of those who planned the French revolution, so good as the attempt to implant this Christian principle in the manners of France and in her code of laws. The other day, a precious manuscript of Mirabeau was produced by the minister to this very effect. 'The first effect,' said he, 'of the French revolution was to elevate its code by introducing into it this idea of reforming the criminal, and restoring the fallen man.' Mirabeau called this a great abandonment of the barbarism of the middle ages. Mirabeau was in the right. He called

for a criminal code that should keep the offender in awe; but he would not be pitiless; and he eloquently maintained, that this view of the case was in harmony with the genius of the age.'

This humane and wise principle was further supported by M. de Tocqueville with great force of argument.

The language of M. Cremieux was, perhaps, more remarkable. He is an able lawyer, and a zealous reformer in the chamber; and himself an example of what justice to a long-crushed people, the Jews, can effect. He illustrated the same principle by most interesting facts.

'When the criminal code was regularly formed,' said he, 'in 1810, and it was enacted that a released convict might, by five years' good conduct acquire a right to complete restoration in law, the proposer of the article, M. de Haubersart said, *'This idea of complete restoration may perhaps be a dream. It is hard to give credence to the thought that prisons can possibly be so reformed as to render any man capable of this great boon, and be fit for the duties of life again. But we are bound to pass this benevolent law in the hope that a single individual even shall claim the benefit of it.'* That humane principle has been eminently justified, continued M. Cremieux. In the last ten years, twenty condemned and punished criminals (felons) have gained by their excellent conduct regular judgments of restoration to all their rights as citizens. Thus what the legislator in 1810 admitted to be a mere possibility of penitentiary reform, proves upon trial to be, for ten years together, a sure and considerable improvement in the conduct and social condition of convicts. A particular case has occurred of the greatest interest on this head, close to Paris, and its authority is universally admitted. A convict who had served his time, resided long at Pontoise on the Seine. His character was irreproachable, and every body esteemed him; but he was unwilling to apply for a pardon. Last year, however, an essay from his pen obtained the great prize at the Institute, and as some hesitation occurred on the part of that learned body at granting to one condemned the reward which his talents had earned him, the public voice of his town was raised in his favour, and without difficulty obtained the pardon, which effaced all legal trace of the judgment.' With such cases before us, it is impossible to despair of the good effect of indulgent, but careful laws.'

The French are fast adopting these principles; and the whole science of penitentiary legislation is taking a new and mild character throughout the continent. The resolutions passed last year at the congress at Frankfort, taken together with the topics discussed this year at Brussels, give a favourable idea of the new system, which it is proposed to substitute for the galleys, the bagnes, the ill-regulated gaols, and the proscriptions for released convicts, which Lord Brougham's committee look upon as the present *beau ideal* of penal discipline abroad.

These resolutions are as follows :—

1st. All prisoners committed for trial shall be separated from each other, and from all other prisoners, except when, upon their own application, the committing magistrate may allow some intercourse between them upon the conditions established by law.

2nd. All convicts shall be kept in separate cells with increased or diminished severity, according to the nature of their crimes and sentences ; according to the circumstances and conduct of the individuals ; provided that they may be usefully employed ; that they may walk every day in the open air ; that they may attend divine worship ; that they may receive religious, moral, and literary instruction ; that they may be regularly visited by the minister of their own religious persuasion, by the physician, and by the members of protection and patronage societies ; besides other persons allowed by the regulations.

3rd. The last rule is especially applicable to imprisonments for short terms.

4th. Separate confinement shall also be applied for long terms, but with various increased indulgences every year, so far as is consistent with the principle of separation.

5th. In cases of sickness and weakness of mind, any relaxation of the rule of separation shall be allowed that may appear proper to the governors, even to the extent of admitting associates to the prisoners, provided these associates be not themselves prisoners.

6th. Gaols with separate cells shall be built, with accommodations for access to religious services ; so that the prisoners may see and hear the minister, and the minister see them, without their seeing or hearing each other.

7th. The substitution of separate confinement for imprisonment in common, should be immediately followed by shortening the terms of the sentences.

8th. A thorough reform of the criminal law, the legal provision of a regular inspection of prisons, and the institution of societies of patronage for the protection of convicts after their liberation, should be integral parts of penitentiary reform.

Such was the scheme adopted by the congress of 1846. The congress of 1847, was to follow out this scheme. The subjects for it were :—

1st. The internal management of prisons ; the agents, the inspectors, etc.

2nd. The architecture of prisons upon the separate system ; size of the cells ; ventilation ; heat ; provision of water ; etc.

3rd. Management of patronage for convicts when released.

4th. Asylums and penitentiaries for young criminals ; agricultural colonies.

5th. A criminal law reform, the indispensable consequence of penitentiary reform.

6th. Prevention of crime. Its causes.

The importance of the last head was felt when the subject was proposed in the first congress, by M. Ducpetiaux, the inspector-general of prisons and *benevolent institutions* in Belgium. He would have had the congress declare its deep conviction that preventive justice ought to be made concurrent with the justice of punishment; and that penitentiary reform must necessarily prove abortive, if all good men, with the sincere support of all governments, did not join to dry up the sources of crime by improving the physical, the moral, and the intellectual condition of the poor and laborious classes.

The foregoing important resolutions really form a system of penitentiary discipline; and they were arrived at by eminent men, of whom many are the inspectors and governors of the best prisons in Europe and America. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, and 8, were adopted either unanimously, or with one or two dissenting voices only. A very large majority carried the fourth.

The main differences of opinion turned on a most interesting subject. Obermaier, the director of prisons in Bavaria, has long conducted them, and especially that of Kaiserslautern, with singular success. He has completely mastered the hearts of the wildest criminals, by appealing directly to the sense of humanity, which he insists is in them all. The chairman of the congress at Frankfort, himself the first criminal jurist of Germany, and in all respects a most accomplished man, professor Mittermaier, of Heidelberg, president of the chamber of deputies in Baden, said of his system, that it was nothing more than an incorporation of Obermaier himself. It is founded upon the principle of intense Christian charity. It admits separate confinement. It abolishes even 'the moderate use of corporeal punishment,' which Lord Brougham's committee, in 1847, recommends for juvenile offenders. It provides employment and instruction of all kinds. No public exposure, no personal rigour, no prison dress. These few words explain the system of Obermaier of Munich.

The congress, offering a just tribute to his honour, abstained from attempting to adopt his plan of proceedings under an apprehension that agents like himself, to carry it out, were not to be found. Upon this occasion two curious anecdotes were told to illustrate the character of the man, and the effectiveness of his system. The first was that of an assassin, who formed a plot to break out of the prison; and he succeeded in making many of the convicts parties to it. Obermaier heard of what was going on; and at once assembling the whole body in an

open court, he ranged them in a circle, and stepped into the centre. Then, addressing the ringleader, he said, 'I know your designs. I am aware of your intention to kill me. But I have so little fear, that I shall not even punish you. Go on if you will, I shall be prepared for your worst.' The offender confounded, abandoned his scheme, and turned out a well-behaved man. Again, a fire once broke out near the prison; and was on the point of catching the nearest dormitories. There was no hope of help from the town. Obermaier without a moment's hesitation, led out two hundred prisoners beyond the walls, got a supply of water, and cut off the danger in an extraordinary short space of time. He kept by the men himself, and so encouraged them in the work. He had then the satisfaction to bring them back into confinement without a single absentee, although among them there were several under sentence for life.

The congress at Frankfort examined also another plan which has warm partisans. It is that of M. Aubanel of Geneva. It is a combination of the Philadelphian system *for the complete separation of the convicts from each other*; and the Auburn system *for their separation by night, and their association in silence by day*.

The system of the model prison at Pentonville approaches to this character. The convicts are kept strictly *separate* from each other there, night and day. But after eighteen months these convicts are sent to a penal colony.

In all reformed prisons, whatever may be their system in other respects, the convicts work much, learn something, and attend religious services. One institution annexed to the reformed prisons, is almost unknown to the public in England, although something of the sort has long existed in Warwickshire. It is the institution called *Patronage*; which is, societies for attending to criminals *after* their punishment. These societies are extending everywhere on the Continent with advantage. In Nassau, for instance, one such, was founded in 1829; and by the end of 1844, it had, out of four hundred and forty-six convicts released from prison, placed forty-four as labourers; one hundred and one as apprentices; one hundred and thirty as servants; and the one hundred and seventy-six remaining were helped at their homes with tools. Of these, one hundred and forty-three of the servants and labourers have perfectly repaid the pains bestowed on them. The sum of money expended by this society in eighteen years is £1,500., or about £3. a-head for saving a large body of convicts from ruin.

The debates on the penitentiary congresses ought to be translated into English; and it would add to their value as a lesson

to us, if the most important volume of similar debates upon the French bill of 1844 were also translated. The House of Lords has much to learn on the subject; and when in the discussion which may be expected in the new parliament respecting every branch of it, their committee's error about transportation shall be thoroughly refuted, the benefits conferred by the superior science of our neighbours will be returned to them by the exposure of a great mistake in that respect, which is now misleading some among them on that topic.

The inspectors of our prisons, Mr. Crawford and the Rev. Whitworth Russell, took an active part in the proceedings of the penitentiary congress at Frankfort. Mr. Crawford was one of its originators. Mr. Russell was present, and his opinions had considerable weight in its conclusions. Both have since died prematurely, to the deep grief of their friends, and greatly to the public loss. They were eminently qualified for their posts; which being of recent creation, and of no political interest, had few lights, from experience, and fewer helps from either parliament or ministers. These excellent men shared some of the common prejudices against the power of moral means of penitentiary reform, and therefore clung to transportation as indispensable for the relief of society at home, forgetting that even the greatest advantages obtained by the mother country, form no compensation to the colonies for the enormous domestic evils inflicted by the inequality of the sexes, and by the accumulation of convicts in common—evils for which prevention and cure are alike impossible. That subject, however, and the very important reports of the inspectors of prisons, require a distinct consideration. Nor can justice be done to the French system of penitentiary reform, without a specific and extended notice. That system is now assuming a character of completeness well worth our familiar acquaintance.

The French Chamber of Peers has examined the whole subject. The Report of its committee contains an able analysis of all its branches. It strongly negatives the proposal rashly favoured by some French statesmen to introduce *transportation* into their code; and it expatiates upon the advantage of *patronage* for discharged convicts; on which subject it announces the interesting fact, that our government has applied for information to the French government with a view to introduce that institution into England. When, besides all this it is known, that Russia is about to *abolish transportation*, something like enthusiasm in the cause of prison reform may be cherished. Botany Bay must surely follow Siberia.

ART. VII.—*Byways of History, from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century.* By Mrs. Percy Sinnett. 2 vols., 12mo. London: Longman and Co.

THE title of these volumes is well chosen, and is accurately descriptive of their contents. The interest it awakens is fully sustained throughout the narratives given, and no intelligent reader, solicitous to acquaint himself with the less obvious features of past times, will fail to wish that Mrs. Sinnett may be induced to prosecute still further her labours. Her first intention was to furnish the English public with a sketch of the Peasant War of Germany; but in the prosecution of this design she found 'it desirable, if not absolutely necessary, to glance at the previous conditions of the society from which this fearful phenomenon arose.' We are glad that she felt this necessity, and yielded to it, as the first of her two volumes, in which the results of more extensive researches are contained, constitutes a valuable addition to her work. It is really surprising that so little is known, even by intelligent men, of the period of which she treats. Our countrymen are, for the most part, content with meagre and superficial information; the bare outline of events satisfies them; but of the filling up, with its innumerable varieties of men and things, its sunshine and shade, the homes and the hearts of the millions who occupied the more retired stations, and bore the great burden of life, they are absolutely ignorant. The names of monarchs, statesmen, and heroes, are familiar; the prominent facts of their history are known, and the general course of civilization may be dimly traced; but the actual condition of human life at any given period, the precise character it bore, its joys and sorrows, the burdens it endured, and its yearning after other and better things, rarely enter into their consideration, and are, therefore, but very imperfectly apprehended. It must indeed be acknowledged, in extenuation of this state of things, that our historical writers have done but little to supply their countrymen with this information. They have misapprehended greatly their vocation, and have consequently lost much of their power, and failed to accomplish the good that was within their reach. The older chroniclers, who were greatly superior in this respect, have been inaccessible to the many; whilst even to the few of ampler means and more cultivated taste, the antiqueness of their garb has been unfriendly to their popularity. It is impossible to read a page of Froissart without feeling that a skilful hand only is needed to furnish a *history* incomparably superior, even in point of interest, to most of the fictions which have charmed mankind.

The materials are ample, and are ready to hand; but an artist is wanted to combine the picturesque and graphic style of the school of Froissart, with the chaster diction and larger philosophy of modern times. We wait the advent of such a genius, whose productions will do more to alienate our youth from the deleterious fictions which are popular, than the gravest discourses which parental solicitude can utter. We welcome the volumes before us as an approach to this class of publications, and can assure our readers of being well repaid by their perusal.

The first volume contains, in addition to an interesting introduction of twenty pages, twelve chapters, of which the following are the titles:—‘The Castles of Germany, and their Inmates;’ ‘Fist Law;’ ‘Free Cities of Germany;’ ‘The Hansa at Home and Abroad;’ ‘Fathers of the Desert;’ ‘Monks in Early Times;’ ‘The Abbey of Altenberg;’ ‘The Masters of Prussia;’ ‘Prussia in the Old Time;’ ‘The House of Marienberg.’ These titles will, sufficiently for our purpose, explain the character of the volume, from which it would be easy to make large and attractive extracts. We shall confine ourselves, however, to one or two, in order to afford space for a more extended notice of the Peasant War. The education or training of the young knight was an important matter, and the following sketch discloses the source of that profound ignorance which frequently existed in connexion with great military skill and habits of command.

‘The young noble of the middle ages, whether the son of a poor knight or of a prince, was generally taken with his seventh year out of the hands of the women, to commence his education, as all education should commence, by obedience—by serving for seven years as a page in the household of a noble who had received the honour of knighthood. He had to wait upon his master, his lady, and their guests at table, in the chase, and on journeys—and in the intervals of these duties, to acquire the necessary knowledge and practice in knightly exercises. He was placed under the authority of a sort of schoolmaster, who, however, was, in Germany at least, not called a tutor, but a *bubenzuchtmeister*, that is, ‘disciplinarian,’ or whipper-in of the boys; and the pupil went through a pretty severe course of discipline, abundance of kicks and cuffs being in the order of the day. The next step of the candidate for the honours of chivalry was to become a squire, and be permitted to bear arms—a ceremony to which some equivalent exists even among many savage nations, as it did in the forests of ancient Germany. He might now accompany his knight to tournaments and to feuds, have the care of the armour and horses, and the charge of prisoners; but in battle he was to remain behind his lord, and only act on the defensive; to parry strokes aimed at him, to reach him fresh arms, assist him to remount his horse, etc. Besides carrying his banner, and shouting the battle-cry, the squire also performed the office of what in less heroic com-

bats is called '*a bottle-holder*,' in which it appears he had by no means a sinecure. He had, moreover, on many occasions, to lead the war-horse, and to carry the helmet and lance before him on the saddle, and to perform many other services, in the stable, the cellar, and even in the kitchen, which, in royal households, were regarded as distinctions, and became hereditary in certain families.

'At length, after seven years more, came the period for which the young squire, while polishing his knight's armour, had often sighed. The twenty-first year was usually that in which he received knight-hood, although particular circumstances often caused it to be delayed. Sometimes poverty prevented his taking on him a dignity attended with considerable expense; sometimes religious enthusiasm induced him to put off receiving his spurs till he had won them in the Holy Land; sometimes, it is to be feared, he lingered for the sake of the flirtations with the ladies of the castle, for which a squire had so many opportunities.

'The attainment of the highest military and political honour required, of course, in those days, the co-operation of the clergy.

'The candidate presented his sword to be consecrated on the altar; the bath and the sponsors made the ceremony resemble that of baptism, and these, as well as the white dress, were emblematic of the purity expected of the new knight, who had also to fast, to pray, and to watch his armour in a church, or over the tomb of a saint. The ceremony of knighthood, in its original form, was indeed almost like the ordination of a priest—it was the reception into a select and holy order. His oath included every duty of morality then known or recognised; to be faithful and just, humane and generous, to protect religion and her ministers, widows and orphans, women 'and all that were desolate and oppressed,' and moreover to chastise the infidels. The new knight was also exhorted to hear mass daily, and to be always ready to peril his life in the defence of any innocent person.

'On some occasions we hear that at the banquet which followed the ceremony, he was placed in a seat of honour; but was not to eat or drink—not to look to the right nor to the left, but to bear himself as modestly as a bride; though he was afterwards allowed the gratification of exhibiting himself in all his glory to the people in the street.'—Vol. i. pp. 37—40.

How far the knights were from fulfilling their vows, may be learned from the following sketch of one of their number, Franz von Sickingen, who was born in 1481, and is first introduced to our notice in the Venetian war. His case was not a solitary one:—

'The next we hear of him is, that he had engaged to fight for the archbishop of Mainz, and bring with him four horsemen and a boy, for a consideration of 150 gulden (£12. 10s.) a month, and their clothes. His biographers point with pride to this humble beginning, contrasting it with the opulence and grandeur to which he afterwards

attained, as citizens who have waxed wealthy will sometimes exhibit with satisfaction the humble tools with which they have laid the foundation of their fortune. There are indeed cases, it may be suspected, even in our day, in which the ways and means of accumulation, though more difficult to follow, would be found to square little better with the eighth commandment than those of worthy Franz, who, moreover, enjoyed all the while the inestimable advantage of a good conscience. The first considerable business transaction in which the knight engaged on his own account was a feud with the imperial free city of Worms, which began in the usual style, with lying in wait in the environs, and pouncing upon goods and passengers; but as the chivalry of the neighbourhood scented rich prey, they came flocking in from all quarters to help him, and he soon had at his disposal a force of no less than six thousand men.

‘As the imperial chamber happened to be sitting at Worms, however, his declaration of feud was regarded as an insult to majesty; and when he refused to desist, and answered saucily, that the chamber, if it did not like it, might move off, the ban was issued against him; and Franciscus von Sickingen and his heirs, and their heirs for ever, declared to have forfeited all estates, honours, and dignities to which they might have any claim, to be condemned to ‘perpetual poverty and hardship, so that their lives should be miserable, and death to them delightful.’ All these hard words seem, nevertheless, to have bounded off from the knight with little damage; and a short time after, he is said, by a notable device, to have got possession of the persons of the honourable magistracy of Worms.

‘The plan was for one of his men to slink into the town at night, and there take an opportunity to commit a theft to which the punishment of the gallows was attached. Whether the man who undertook this pleasant little piece of service was a volunteer, or not, does not appear; but the knight gave him the most solemn assurance, that he would not fail to come to the rescue, even if he should have mounted the ladder. The man set forth accordingly, accomplished his getting into the town, stole in the way of duty two horses, and, as was foreseen, was condemned to be hanged. The gallows was situated outside the town, and on these occasions it was customary for the procession to be escorted to the spot by the burgomaster and the chief magistrates. The exciting little drama had proceeded to the last scene; but when the finisher of the law was about to execute on the criminal the sacred mandates of justice, Franz von Sickingen, with a troop of knights and men-at-arms, broke from the cover of a neighbouring wood, shot the executioner, who of course counted for nothing, and made captive the civic dignitaries and their attendants, and carried them off in triumph. Franz treated his prisoners well, gave them abundance to eat and drink, and even invited the burgomaster and senators to dine at his own table, though he lodged them safely in his tower, and stowed away the ‘commoner sort’ in his turnip-cellar; but he made them pay rich ransoms, so that the feud on the whole turned out very profitable. About the same time his

father-in-law had 'very good luck,' that is to say, made much booty in a feud with the Cologne people, so that the family appeared to be in a thriving way; but when, some time after, the knight also laid his hands, Robin-Hood fashion, upon some goods belonging to the merchants of Frankfort, strange to say, there was such a piece of work in consequence, that the Emperor Max got out of all patience, and exclaimed, that 'if one of these traders only lost a bag of pepper, he disturbed the whole empire about it; but that if his imperial crown were in jeopardy, not a man would stir.'—*Ib.* pp. 246—249.

So far were these unknightly feats from being deemed disgraceful, that Franz not only regarded himself, but was actually described by others, 'as a redressor of wrongs, a guardian of innocence, a protector of the defenceless.' His castle was the refuge of many persecuted reformers, and contained a printing press, which was actively employed in disseminating the new opinions that were breaking up the old system of Germany. He was, in truth, a favourable specimen of his class; and throws, consequently, a fearful light on the general condition of social morals.

The English public have hitherto known little of the Peasant War. Our acquaintance with it has been through the medium of hostile allusions, for the most part brief, meagre, and of course condemnatory. We have, in consequence, adopted strong views on the subject, and, as is commonly the case, have sought to make up for deficient knowledge by the haste and intensity of our reprobation. Mrs. Sinnett has rendered an important service by pleading for an arrest of judgment, and the manner in which she has discharged her duty is honourable alike to her integrity and skill. She is by no means blind to the evils which were associated with the servile war of Germany. They are admitted without hesitation, and reprobated in becoming terms. The evils, however, are traced to their proper source, and the few enormities which were perpetrated, are shewn to have been light and almost virtuous, compared with the atrocities practised by knights and noble lords.

History has for the most part been the creature of the aristocracy. Its penmen have been the hirelings of the upper classes, who drew 'the breath of their nostrils' from the smiles of the great, and were consequently unscrupulous in doing their bidding. The records of history are, in truth, little better than a panegyric on the rich and noble. It is true they disclose many crimes—that they open up to us dark and revolting scenes—that they frequently enable us to trace the wretchedness of the many to the selfishness, cruelty, and despotism of the few; but all this is perfectly consistent with the class prejudices under which they were written. In detailing the contest of noble with

noble, and of prince with prince, the most revolting features of human character are disclosed; whilst, in the atrocities practised on the people, there is no visible perception in the writer, of the enormous wrong done to humanity. In the former case, the reputation of the class is not felt to be endangered, inasmuch as the contests described are within itself; and in the latter case, the people are treated as if they had no rights, and were entitled to no sympathy. The wrong done to a single knight or lord, though in punishment of his crimes, fills a province with indignation; whilst thousands of the commonalty are starved or slaughtered without pity or remorse. History, therefore, has ever blackened the character of the people, and exalted that of their oppressors. It has been, in fact, little more than the report of the latter, or of their hireling scribes, and should always be suspected when it undertakes to record an unsuccessful popular movement. Happily, there has been a limit to its wrong-doing. This, however, has been supplied by the necessity of the case, and is only realized now that the popular element has gathered strength, and the moral perceptions of society are become clearer and more correct. We take the facts recorded, and reasoning from them, rather than from the false judgments of the reporter, draw our own conclusion as to the condition of things. We need not say what that conclusion is, nor shall we stay to prove its correctness. Our present business respects the Peasant War, and to that we proceed.

Until lately, this war attracted little attention, though it is, perhaps, 'one of the most remarkable phenomena of the age in which it occurred.'

'It has been common, however,' remarks Mrs. Sinnett, 'in estimating popular insurrections, to look rather at the amount of success which has attended them, than at the motives in which they originated. What was a crime if followed by defeat, becomes a heroism if crowned by victory; and thus, while the effort of the Swiss to throw off the Austrian yoke has been consecrated to all time as a glorious struggle in the cause of liberty, one which, in the beginning at least, was fully as worthy of our sympathy, has been regarded with cold indifference or careless condemnation: one historian*, in speaking of the Peasant War, says, 'It originated in a hatred to the nobility and clergy;' and then, as if he had reduced the thing to its ultimate elements, and that hatred to nobility and clergy were an original principle of human nature, beyond which our inquiries need not and cannot go, he makes no attempt to proceed further in investigating its cause.'—Vol. ii. pp. 1, 2.

Recent investigations have clearly shewn that this war had its origin in grievous and intolerable oppressions; that in its commencement, the conduct of the peasants was marked by astonish-

* Kohlrausch, in his 'History of Germany.'

ing moderation; that their demands were perfectly reasonable; and that the violence subsequently practised was provoked by the duplicity and cruelty with which they were treated. The great outbreak was in 1525, but for half a century previously to this, the grinding oppressions to which the German peasants were subject had led to partial revolts; the first of which was headed by Hans Boheim, a shepherd lad, in 1476. A starved and perishing people clamoured for food. 'They declared everywhere that they desired nothing more, and that for this only they were in arms.' These local outbreaks were, however, easily suppressed; and the nobles, both lay and ecclesiastical, wreaked a terrible vengeance on their serfs. The history of Hans Boheim illustrates both the oppressions and the superstition of the age. So intense were the sufferings of the peasantry, that they eagerly caught at every prospect of relief, without reflecting on the promises they credited, or the resources which were at their command. The following is our author's account of this reformer:—

'It was in the year 1476, that a shepherd lad of Wurzburg, named Hans Boheim, but commonly known as Hans the drummer, or the piper, for he was in the habit of playing on both instruments at weddings, church festivals, and such occasions, began to meditate on all that he saw and heard, 'to see visions and dream dreams;' and one day—it was about the time of Mid Lent—there appeared to him no less a person than the glorious 'Queen of heaven' herself. The life he had hitherto led now appeared profane and sinful; he burnt his drum in the presence of the people, and began to preach to them to repent of their sins, 'for the kingdom of heaven was at hand,' and he commanded them at the same time to lay aside all costly attire, cords of silk and silver, pointed-toed shoes, and all manner of vanity. The people hearkened to the new prophet, and great numbers came every holiday flocking to Niklashausen to hear him. Soon he enlarged his theme. The blessed virgin, he said, 'had not only commanded him to preach the renunciation of all the pomps and vanities of the world, but likewise to announce the speedy abolition of all existing authorities; there should be no lords spiritual or temporal, neither prince nor pope, neither king nor kaiser; but all should be as brothers; that all taxes and tributes, tithes and dues, should be done away with; and wood, and water, spring and meadow, be free to all men.'

'It was the dream of many weary hearts in that poor down-trodden multitude, and they could not but throb high at such glad tidings. From all the neighbouring villages and hamlets on the Tauber, from the distant Odenwald, and the valleys of the Maine and Neckar, nay, from the banks of the Rhine, from Swabia and Bavaria, came pilgrims of both sexes and all ages. Mechanics ran from their workshops, peasant boys from the plough, maids from the reaping-field with the sickles in their hands, without leave asked, came trooping in to hear the new Evangel.

'They had made no provision for their journey; but those who had,

gave to those who needed, mostly without pay; and all were furnished with food and drink, addressing each other as 'brother and sister.'

'For months together, on all Sundays and holidays, was heard the voice of the holy youth, 'the messenger of our lady,' as he was called, sounding from his pulpit—a tub turned upside down; and as yet, notwithstanding all that he had said and done, in perfect harmony with the parish priest. Two nobles even are named as having been among his hearers,—the knight, Sir Kunz of Thunfeld, and his son. Gifts began to pour in,—rich gifts in money, and jewels, and clothes; and peasant women who had nothing else to give, made offerings of their long hair. Forty thousand worshippers of the virgin were collected around Niklas-hausen: booths and tents were erected to supply them with necessities, though at night they had to lie in the gardens, or on the open fields. The enthusiasm rose ever higher; but the priests now began to discover that they were playing with edged tools, and to hint that Hans Boheim dealt in the black art; that his inspiration was of the devil; and that the said devil it was, and no other, who had appeared to him in the white robes of the blessed virgin, and had prompted this ungodly rebellion against temporal and ecclesiastical authority. But the hearts of men were on fire, and this feeble sprinkling only made them burn the fiercer. They flung themselves on their knees before the holy drummer, saying,—'O man of God! messenger of heaven! be gracious to us, and have pity on us;' and they tore and parted among them fragments of his garments, and he esteemed himself happy who could obtain but a thread of so precious a relic.'—*Ib.* pp. 17—19.

The authorities, at length, became alarmed, and, having seized the prophet, he was doomed to expiate his offence at the stake, whilst his followers were ruthlessly slaughtered by the soldiers of the bishop of Wurzburg. Nearer the close of the fifteenth century, other outbreaks, bearing the same general character and originating from similar causes, occurred. One of these, bearing the title of 'The Clouted Shoon' arose in Alsace, and was distinguished by some peculiar features. A peasant confided the secret, under the seal of confession, to a priest, who immediately communicated it to the imperial government. The Emperor Maximilian ordered the wives and children of the peasants to be driven out of the country, the rebels themselves to be quartered alive, and their leaders to be torn asunder by wild horses.

'Such,' says Mrs. Sinnett, 'were the orders of the generous and chivalrous Maximilian: but fortunately they could not be executed; for the conspiracy had been so extensive that, had the princes and nobles put to death all of their peasants who had taken part in it, their estates would have been depopulated, and they themselves deprived of their most valuable property. A very small number, therefore, really suffered, and many took refuge in Switzerland and in the recesses of the Black Forest.'—*Ib.* p. 36.

A deathlike stillness followed. The people were terrified, but not conquered. They yet cherished hope, and sought to lull suspicion, that they might renew their efforts with better prospect of success. A suitable leader at length appeared :—

‘ Amongst those who escaped by flight the torturing death to which he and his brethren had been destined by the paternal mercies of the imperial ‘ Landsfather,’ was one Joss Fritz, who had been one of the original movers of the league among the peasants, and who to a deep and burning zeal in their cause united indomitable perseverance and patience. Should he fail ten times over, he was ready to come on to the eleventh trial without bating ‘ a jot of heart or hope ;’ he had been in many battles, and had had much experience in military affairs, and possessed besides many personal advantages, a striking figure, and a soldier-like carriage, as well as a gift of natural eloquence, where it was necessary great power of dissimulation, and that indescribable air of command, which is sometimes, but not always, the accompaniment of mental superiority ; he knew how to adapt his address most skilfully to the character of whoever he wished to influence, to attack one on the side of material interest, another on that of religion ; to infuse faith and hope into the doubting and irresolute, courage and confidence into the timid. Weeks, months, years, he patiently toiled to bind again the broken threads of conspiracy, and never lost sight of any circumstance that might serve, though ever so little, the cause to which for life or death he hath devoted himself.’—*Ib.* p. 37.

Joss returned to the neighbourhood of Freiburg in 1512, and laboured with indefatigable zeal to reunite the scattered elements of discontent. The people, however, retained so vivid a remembrance of the sufferings formerly endured, as to interpose powerful obstacles to his success. But nothing could damp his zeal. He had resolved on his course, and the energy, perseverance, and skill, with which he pursued it, needed only success to have enrolled his name in the record of illustrious men. A list of articles was drawn up, and ‘ it is remarkable,’ observes Mrs. Sinnett, ‘ that these articles are perfectly free from anything like seditious violence : and the conspirators, it appears, were so anxious concerning the meaning and tendency of some, that Joss had to undertake to defend every one of them out of the Bible, and it was the declared intention of all parties, as soon as the league should be formed to lay their wishes before the emperor ; and only in case he refused to sanction them, to apply for aid to the Swiss.’

The instruments with which he had to work were of the lowest order, but, like a skilful general, he made the most of the forces at his command, employing each in the service for which it was best fitted. The following extract affords a signal illustration of this, at the same time that it throws light on the manners of the age.

' Among the friends and allies of the cause which the exertions of these two got together, there was one class so curious and characteristic of the manners of the time as to deserve particular mention. These were the beggars, who were very numerous, and seem to have been recognised as a sort of guild, and to have possessed a patent, or legal right, to exercise their profession in the countries which they traversed. They obeyed certain chiefs or captains elected by themselves, and their appearance is graphically described in the chronicles of the time. One who traded on the capital of a disease in the lower limbs, wore a tattered black tunic, and a black felt hat, and travelled under the sign, that is the special protection, of our Lady of Einsiedeln and Saint Anna, and carried about upon a board images of his two patronesses. Another was a stout jolly-looking young fellow, more than half naked, who used to go along bawling for alms, for the sake of the holy saint Cyriac; he carried on business with an open wound in the right arm, which he would never suffer to be healed. A third had a little girl of seven years old, whom he carried with her feet tied up, as if she had lost the use of them, and he had his hat stuck round with no less than eight images of saints, wore a long red beard, and carried a huge knotted stick with a sharp iron point at the bottom, a hook at the top, and a dagger concealed within it. One was a dwarf, and the proprietor, moreover, of a very frightful eruption on the face. Another carried a knife, and a large stone, by way of penance, as he informed the passers by, for having accidentally killed a woman by throwing a knife at her. Another, called Henry of Strasburg, hawked about spices for sale; and wore a long grey gown and a red cap, with an image of the holy child, and a sword by his side, and several knives and a dagger stuck in his girdle. Most of the fraternity had large wallets, made of ticking, slung before and behind, in which to deposit the contributions of the pious and charitable.

' With the chiefs of this ragged regiment Joss Fritz and his associate Stoffel, of Freiburg, now entered into an alliance; the beggars were to act as spies; to bring information of the watch kept at the gates of cities and in various fortresses; and it was also agreed, on the promise of a reward of two thousand gulden, to assemble the fraternity on a certain day, to the number of not less than two thousand, in the town of Zabern, in Alsace, which they were to assist in seizing upon. They were to act under the orders of members of the league in the town and its suburbs; and as the town was expected to be very full of strangers, on account of the festival of the dedication of a church, there would be the more chance that their mustering in such force would escape notice. Church festivals and fairs frequently offered favourable opportunities for assembling the members of the league without exciting suspicion, and nightly meetings also took place at many solitary inns of which the hosts were friendly to the undertaking, a certain reward being promised for every recruit brought in; but care was taken that the confederacy should be so organised that no man should, if possible, know the names of more than those with whom he would be called upon to act. Joss had a particular sign for those under his immediate command, a small patch of black cloth on a red ground, sewn into the folds of a handkerchief round the neck, and also a particular form of words, slightly altered from those

of the former Bundschuh, for the sake of mutual recognition. On the necessity of these watchwords great stress was laid, by Joss, as well as on the preparation of the standard, which he now set about. It was, however, a dangerous business, for which great caution was necessary.'—*Ib.* pp. 42—45.

It is almost needless to say, that the conspiracy—for such history calls it—was ultimately discovered, and that 'hanging, beheading, and quartering alive, formed, as usual, the final scene of the tragic drama.' Joss Fritz, however, escaped, and was subsequently seen in the Black Forest.

It was on the lovely shores of the Neckar, in the dukedom of Wirtemberg, that the next insurrectionary movement took place. It was entitled the 'Poor Conrad,' and gathered in its course large crowds of adherents. For a time it prospered, but the Diet, having undertaken to decide on the matters in dispute, the people were lulled into false security. The result is thus described :—

'On the following day, they were invited to assemble outside the city of Schorndorf, to hear the decision of the Diet ; and between three and four thousand complied with the treacherous invitation, though others fled across the mountains. A paper was produced, and, in order to hear its contents, the unsuspecting peasants drew closely together, when the troops by a sudden movement closed round them, and at a given signal from the duke, who had ridden out armed to the teeth, and even his horse covered with steel, the soldiers fell upon them, made prisoners of above sixteen hundred, and drove them into the town bound and coupled together like dogs. In the course of three days, the whole sixteen hundred had been tried, as it was called, and subjected to various punishments, many to death with torture, and mostly under the personal superintendence of the 'Landsfather.' Lists were published of those who had escaped, and the severest penalties denounced against any who should harbour them—were it father or mother, brother or sister, son or daughter. Even a house where they had been known to have received shelter was to be immediately rased to the ground.

'Such was, for the time, the end of 'Poor Conrad ;' another wave had broken itself vainly in noise and dashing foam, and the spray was scattered to the winds : but the tide was still rising.'—*Ib.* p. 73.

Amongst 'the true men of the people' at this period, was Thomas Munzer, born in 1498, and educated at Wittenberg, where he took a doctor's degree. The grossest calumnies have been heaped on his memory by protestant as well as by catholic writers ; but whatever were his faults—and they were not trifling—his honesty was inflexible, and his earnestness such as latitudinarians deem fanatical. He contemplated the civil as well as the religious freedom of his countrymen, and rendered himself thereby obnoxious to the nobles, as his theology was in

many points distasteful to the Lutherans. His views partook of a mystic character, and approximated somewhat to those of the Fifth Monarchy Men. There was much of truth, however, in his creed, and his character and life deserve attentive study. The following sketch will be read with interest, and may serve to relieve his memory from some reproaches with which it has been unjustly loaded.

'The more deeply he studied the Scriptures, the more flagrant did the contrast appear between what was and what ought to be. Like the English Puritans, he considered that if Christianity were indeed the very breath of our spiritual life, and the sole foundation on which the whole moral fabric was to be built, it should govern political relations as well as those of private life, and the New Testament give laws to the state as well as to the individual. In this manner only, he thought, could Christianity be realised in the world, and the kingdom of God come upon earth: and when we consider the social condition of Germany at that period, we can surely not wonder that he could not understand how the frightful disparities in the condition of various classes were to be reconciled with the ideas of brotherly love, freedom, and equality in the sight of God, which he found proclaimed in the gospel. If he rushed towards the objects he had in view with perilous impetuosity, forgetting that such changes as he contemplated, even where they were not really impracticable, must proceed slowly and gradually from within, and could not be the mere results of alterations suddenly and violently effected from without, we may recollect, in his excuse, that it was an error into which half Europe fell, when the world was nearly three hundred years older.

'The fiery ardour natural to the character of Munzer became more and more inflamed by his continual studies of the Old Testament, and of the commands to revenge and extermination written in characters of flame along the pages of Isaiah and Jeremiah, till the revolutionary ideas of Abbot Joachim in him became revolutionary deeds. He was not content with imagining a future state of blessedness; on this earth, on this firm German soil, should the new Jerusalem be built; and accordingly, in Prague, where such an action required no little boldness, he wrote in Latin and German a vehement attack upon the clergy, declaring that they knew nothing of God, of faith, or of Christian virtue and good works, and that abuse and fraud had begun to creep into the church from the time when the people had left off choosing their own preachers. Since then, 'the doctrine and discipline of the church had no longer harmonized with the voice of God, but had degenerated into unmeaning prattle and fantastic ceremonies, worthy of babes and sucklings.'

'In many of his writings, Munzer earnestly contends against an anxious clinging to the form without regard to the spirit of Christianity, and especially where it was made to enjoin a blind obedience to the letter under all circumstances. He points to the continual operation of the Holy Spirit upon the heart, to the powers of the human mind itself as

the purest source of truth, through which only the truths of the Bible can be recognised, and to which God reveals himself to-day as he did thousands of years ago. He rejects as irrational and unchristian the doctrine of justification by faith alone, enjoins the seeking for God less without, in books, than within in our own hearts, and declares that there is no other devil than the evil desires and inclinations of man: that the Holy Spirit has been given to every human being, and that the heaven to which man is destined may be sought and found even in this world.* Munzer might be a fanatic, but was neither a madman or a hypocrite, as he has been represented. As an orator he was greatly inferior to Luther, and far from being able, like him, to clothe every thought instantly with the most striking and appropriate language, he often, it is said, appeared struggling for an expression that he could not find; no winged words stood ready at his command; his style was often hard, laboured, and awkward; but, to the multitude of his hearers, the defects of his composition were more than compensated by the prophetic fire of his delivery, and the intimate knowledge of the Scriptures, which enabled him always to find a text to justify whatever he recommended to be done, or forge thunderbolts at will, to launch against his and the people's enemies, in church and state; for the subject of his discourses was quite as often political as religious.'—*Ib.* p. 32—135.

The deepest stain on the cause of the people was inflicted at Weinsperg, where several nobles and knights were slain by a detachment of the peasants, under the command of 'Little Jack.' The deed, however, was reprobated by the general body, and its cruelty was infinitely surpassed by what speedily followed. 'Most frightful,' remarks our author, 'it was, but not more frightful than the torturings and murders which for centuries had terminated every struggle made by the people to throw off their cruel burdens,—than the massacre of thousands of inoffensive persons by George Truchsess, and the other nobles,—than the putting out the eyes of eighty peasants by the Margrave of Anspach, and similar atrocities, of which it would be too much to go through the sickening catalogue.'

One illustration may suffice, and it leaves little to be said of the ferocity of the peasants. One of their leaders having fallen into the hands of the Imperial General, the following revolting scene was enacted.

'He ordered him to be fastened with an iron chain to an apple-tree, in such a manner that he could run round it to a distance of about two feet. He then commanded wood to be brought; and round the tree, about a fathom and a half from it, he had a great circular pile built up; he himself, the noble George Truchsess von Waldburg, the Count Ulrich von Helfenstein, Count Frederick von Furstenberg, the Baron Von

* "Passages in Munzer's Writings, by Sebastian Franck, Melancthon, and Joh. Mullner."

Hutten, and other of his chivalry, working at it with their own hands. The pile was then kindled; it was night; the bright stars looked down upon the wide battle-field strewn over with the dead—with broken waggons and tents, guns and weapons of every kind, among which, also, lay many of the peasants wounded and mangled, but still living, whose groans and convulsive sobs were heard at intervals, amidst the roar of drunken revelry from the camp of the victors, and the *shouts of laughter* from the nobles, exulting like demons over the sufferings of their victim, as he sprang shrieking from one point to another of the fiery circle within which he was slowly roasting to death (*feinlangsam gebraten*), says the narrative of one who looked on. The other prisoners stood by, images of horror, white and cold as stone.'—*ib.* p. 276.

The Peasant War was a failure. The many were not yet prepared to cope with the few. Force, discipline, and wealth were with the latter, and they, therefore, triumphed. Many generations were to pass before the people learned the secret of their power. Incredible sufferings were to be borne, heroic contests to be waged, terrible reverses to be encountered, ere they were fitted to break down oppression by the simple and silent force of truth. In the sixteenth century, the heralds of religious freedom were amongst the most zealous preachers of the prerogative of kings. Even Luther and Melancthon denounced the peasants as guilty of impiety for resisting 'the powers that be.' The world, however, has made progress since then. A new power has been developed before which thrones and armies bow: one simple in its machinery, inexpensive in its maintenance, but most potent in its sway. Brute force is now amongst the least formidable of the elements with which we have to contend. Intellect has asserted its supremacy, and its triumphs are at once peaceful and permanent. In the security which this new order of things confers, we must not forget the men who laboured in less propitious times, and paid the penalty which exasperated power exacts from an unsuccessful popular confederacy. Such are worthy of all honour, and their memory should be sacred in our eyes.

In closing these volumes we give them our hearty commendation. They are full of instruction and interest; are suited for all classes, and will amply repay both the cost of their purchase and the time employed in their perusal.

ART. VIII.—*Nereis Australis, or Algæ of the Southern Ocean : being Figures and Descriptions of Marine Plants, collected on the Shores of the Cape of Good Hope, the extra-tropical Australian Colonies, Tasmania, New Zealand, and the Antarctic Regions.* By William Henry Harvey, M.D. Part I. London : Reeve. 1847.

WE have always peculiar pleasure in meeting Dr. Harvey on scientific ground. He never presents himself to the public without a thorough understanding of his subject where knowledge is in any way attainable; and whenever the accessible sources may have failed to supply complete and unquestionable materials, he fairly lays before us the result of a skilful and exhaustive research, accompanied by such references to the more important distinctions as may be sufficient to place his reader on the best track for progress. We have had occasion, in more than one instance, to express our high sense of the services rendered by this gentleman to the marine botany of our own country: he has now entered on a more remote and difficult range of investigation. In the case of British Algæ, the difficulties were simply such as are intrinsic to the subject. Excepting in a few instances of rare or equivocal production, there was ample material for examination and comparison, while reference might be made, in matters of hesitancy, to friends and fellow-labourers whose collections and whose personal experience were always at his requisition. His present subject carries him wide of all these auxiliaries, into a region of difficult and dangerous access, where opportunities are few, and obstacles of all kinds beset the explorer. Instead of a large assemblage of entire specimens in every stage of growth and reproduction, exhibiting all those variations of form and circumstance which not unfrequently increase, by excess of illustration, the difficulty of touching the exact line of determination, he has, at times, had nothing better for his guidance than fragments, mere rags and tatters, torn by the winds and waves from the inaccessible regions of the far south. Yet under all these disadvantages he has done well, and with excellent discrimination; his descriptions are concise, yet clear; and his conclusions are sustained by just so much of distinct explanation, as may, without over-laying the subject, make its exposition complete.

In one respect we have been somewhat disappointed. We had prepared ourselves for a fair sprinkling of abnormities; for marine analogues of the vegetable contradictions of the Australian continent. Quite otherwise; excepting a few peculiarities

of no very marked character, the general forms and details are nearly similar to those of our own seas and rocks. No disturbance of old arrangements has been rendered expedient by new discoveries, and the division into three great 'Series' still appears to be sufficient for all practical purposes. Dr. Harvey's brief illustration of this arrangement will be valuable to many of our readers, and may serve as a fair example of his general manner.

'However natural the series, and easily distinguished by the practised eye, it is by no means easy to assign strict limits to them by written characters. The most obvious character is their colour, the *Rhodospereæ* comprising all the red, or red-brown, sea-weeds; the *Melanospermeæ* all the olive-coloured; and the *Chlorospereæ* those of a grass-green. There are exceptional cases, however, a very few of the *Chlorospereæ* being of a violet colour, and some of the *Rhodospereæ* sometimes assuming a greenish tint. These, though very puzzling to the contriver of systems, are easily mastered by the student, who very soon learns to know by the habit of a plant what its affinities probably are. Of course, when we speak of colour as a guide to the student, the primitive colour of the growing plant is meant, not that which it assumes when dry or in decay; exposure to the air, and bleaching in the sunshine, destroys, in a greater or less degree, the characteristic colour of most, frequently converting the olives, and some reds, to black; and most other reds, through various tints of orange and green, into white. There are, of course, other and more important distinctions to be attended to, derived from differences in the organs of fructification. . . . I merely speak of colour as affording an obvious clue to affinity.'

And yet, though colour may be in itself a somewhat too uncertain and unessential quality to be taken as a ground of primary classification, there are circumstances in the present case which seem to give it a positive connexion with permanently discriminative organs. The singular distinction of the *Rhodospereæ*, their double system of fructification, *Fructus duplex, dioicous*,—'a thing without parallel in the vegetable kingdom'—is the most decided instance of this kind. Two sorts of spore-producing fruit, similarly reproductive, have been found, but invariably on separate plants, among nearly all the varieties of this beautiful and widely-ranging group; and it may be fairly assumed, that in the very few instances where it has not yet been detected, a more extended examination of individuals will give a complete confirmation of the fact as the result of an invariable law. Nothing has yet been discovered in the other main divisions of the system that is at once so general and so definite as this, but Dr. Harvey has referred to peculiari-

ties in their fructification which seem likely, if the indications be skilfully followed out, to confirm and extend the principle.

The present publication is the first of four parts, intended to illustrate the marine botany of the great southern ocean. Our preceding observations will have supplied sufficient indication of its general character, and it only remains that we give a brief statement of its contents. The preface is made interesting by a series of valuable directions for the preservation of specimens in various ways, from the light and easy package for mere conveyance, to the more complicated and painstaking preparation for purposes of science. The writer begs, too, in a style of very gentlemanly and disinterested mendicancy, for the contributions of the discriminating collector, to the Herbarium of the Dublin University, which is fortunate enough to have Dr. Harvey for its curator. The regular Prolegomena are not very extensive, and we have already made reference to their more valuable suggestions. It only remains that we advert briefly to the illustrations, twenty-five in number, which, with their definitions and descriptions, form the main portion of the 'First Part.' They are certainly of fair average quality, and supply a sufficient apparatus of magnified details and dissections. We shall, however, confess that we looked for something better. We had in mind the early numbers of the 'Phycologia Britannica,' and we regret to observe that the execution of the present work rather resembles the coarser handling of the later sections of that valuable work.

After all, there is nothing like nature. We have been comparing for critical, and therefore not very good-natured, purposes, some of the representations in the 'Phycologia Britannica' with the admirably-selected specimens in the 'Algæ Danmonienses'—for instance, the *hypnea (gigartina) purpurascens*—and we regret to say that it is difficult to imagine that we are looking at the same object. We make every allowance, but, all concessions made, the difference is immense; and might, we think, have been avoided, without increasing the cost of production.

ART. IX.—*Paul Gerhardt : an Historical Tale of the Lutherans and Reformed, in Brandenburg, under the Great Elector.* By C. A. Wildenhahn. Translated from the German by Mrs. Stanley Carr. London : Nisbet and Co. ; and Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

DAZZLED, like the rest of the world, by the light Dr. Merle D'Aubigné's genius has centred on the person and work of the 'great reformer,' we cannot but gladly testify against those corruptions of his faith which have yielded, and continue to yield so abundant a harvest in the moral degradation of the Lutheran nations. We are, therefore, pleased to receive in this little book an instalment of the antidote which is surely at hand to the prevailing 'Luther-worship;' and a salutary flinging back of the public mind on the ever-recurring truth, that the great doctor of Wittenberg, no more than Paul or Apollos, can with impunity step before the Head of the church.

Difficult as it is to associate a partiality for Rome with the popular reputation of Luther, it is certain that the articles of faith drawn up and signed by him in 1536, and which somewhat later formed the basis of the *Formula Concordiæ*, (the great text-book of his followers), betray an extraordinary leaning towards her errors. Oral confession, priestly absolution, the administration of the Lord's-supper to the dying, and *consubstantiation*, are doctrines which cannot meet with too explicit a disavowal. We suspect they are little known by English readers to be cherished in the heart of the Lutheran church; yet such is the case; and they are seasonably illustrated by a minister of that church in the life and labours of Paul Gerhardt.

Gerhardt, a benign and apostolic spirit, a devoted and energetic pastor, whose heart, overflowing with devout psalmody, yielded to his people many 'songs of Zion,' by which he, 'being dead yet speaketh,' was only in his twelfth year when the breaking out of 'the thirty years' war' introduced him to those principles of religious liberty, for which the amplest exercise was afforded by his subsequent life.

The policy of the great Frederic William, which could devise no better expedient to amalgamate the Lutheran and Reformed divisions of his capital,—his personal countenance being given to the latter,—than that they should meet to argue their differences, had the usual effect of further disuniting, and at last, of wholly estranging the parties. The Elector, who never seems to have questioned his 'right divine to govern wrong,' next fell

upon an ingenious, *peaceable* persecution, 'stripping' all the ministers who refused subscription to a 'pledge,' which bound them to teach and preach only what he should dictate.

In 1654, at the age of forty-four, Paul Gerhardt, united to the pious and lovely daughter of his patron, is found at Berlin, among the steadfast exponents of liberty of conscience and upholders of the *Formula Concordiæ*; and it is the story of his 'good confession' and his holy life, with an intermixture of his devout *Glaubensvoll* hymns, which together make two volumes of mutual interest.

Deacon Lilius, an aged man, the senior 'Probst,' indeed, of the Lutheran church, had just been 'weighed in the balances and found wanting.' The desire of passing his latest days in tranquillity, the fear of want, and the elector, had caused him to 'promise and pledge, under my own handwriting and signature, *to obey and regulate myself by the electoral edicts, as published and set forth by his serene highness, and never to act intentionally in opposition to them. And this I promise, without blame, injury, or supposed offence, of any kind whatsoever, and without damage to my professed and confessed pure Lutheran faith and doctrine, in which, by God's grace, I hope to remain steadfast to my last hour.*'

The laity, filled with grief and indignation at this unexpected declension, begin to look with anger and suspicion on those pastors, who have not yet been summoned to the Consistory, among whom is Gerhardt. His hour, however, shortly comes, and he not only refuses subscription, but by his calmness and courage saves a fainting brother from the delinquency. The hymns of Gerhardt are on all lips, and his love in every heart; his deprivation, which of course follows, arouses the town council of Berlin to such vigorous petitions and even remonstrances, as result in the greater personal exasperation of the elector, who commits forthwith to prison the framer of the said petitions, in the person of a Master Jung, whose pretty Dorothea is Gerhardt's god-daughter.

The pious electress, Louise Henrietta, whose praises are not sparingly scattered through the book, obtains of her husband remission of Gerhardt's sentence; but the clemency is communicated in such an enigmatical form, that the good man's conscience is only so much the more burdened, as he plainly sees he is, in consideration of his integrity, to be regarded as committed to the pledge without an open subscription. Hungering and thirsting to minister to the spiritual necessities of his people, he yet determines to abstain 'for conscience sake' from every ministerial work, and on his return, disgraced from the

Consistory, he consoles his sorrowful Maria in the words of one of his hymns :

‘ God’s love must be our staff and stay,
And then we cannot fall ;
When heaven itself shall pass away,
And melts this earthly ball !
His favour all our journey through
Is pledged ; that promise, firm and true,
He never will recall.’

Harassed by the importunities of my lord president, De Schwerin’s spy-secretary, Stolpe, who, on pretence of obtaining her father’s much-desired liberation, would secure her hand, Dorothea Jung betrothes herself to her long-silent and sincere admirer, Ebeling, the music director ; and, having secured this companion, fearlessly presents herself to the president of the Consistory on behalf of her father. After an exposure of his secretary’s baseness, she makes confession of faith in these eloquent words :—

‘ Your excellency blamed my father for being a zealous Lutheran. I, my gracious lord, am wholly ignorant respecting the points of difference between the Lutherans and the reformed ; but if being a zealous Lutheran mean, believing with the whole heart that the sacred scriptures are the word of God ; that the human understanding is bound unreservedly to submit itself to this revealed will ; that we, poor sinners, can only become righteous through the atoning death of our Saviour ; and that salvation is the gift of Divine grace for Christ’s sake ; that God’s eternal love and mercy cast out no one, but that all are called to the enjoyment of eternal life who flee for salvation to Christ, who will not reject the vilest who come to him : if being a zealous Lutheran mean, regarding the holy supper, not as a mere commemoration of the Lord’s death, but as a holy sacrament in which the blessing of the whole work of redemption meets, and in which the solemn partaking of the bread and wine, brings our souls into a real communion with Christ ; so that we, as the living members of the One Head, are really made partakers of His body and blood, offered up and shed for the atonement of our sins : and if to be a zealous Lutheran mean to keep steady to this faith ; never to let it go in any tribulation or necessity of this life, but to proclaim and defend it in all places ; and, for the sake of this faith, joyfully to submit to shame and mockery, contempt and persecution, dungeons and chains, or death itself ; then, my lord-president, I, too, am a zealous Lutheran, and thousands upon thousands besides ! ’

Her father’s liberation gained, Dorothea is next found at her harpsichord, singing :—

'She who in God's law takes delight,
Who walks in Zion's way,
Pearls, nor gold, nor rubies bright,
Her priceless worth can pay!'

Ebeling enters unperceived, and takes up the next verses:—

'Her husband with free heart can trust
Her love and faithful care;
His home with light and joy is bless'd,
Nor want can enter there.

She does him good, but never ill;
Sweetens life's toilsome way;
His partner she in woe or weal,
His counsellor and stay.'

'Is he not a happy man for whom such a wife is ordained?' asked Ebeling as he ceased. 'Am not I the highly favoured one, dearest Dorothea?'

'The noble-minded girl blushed from mingled shame and pleasure—shame, from conscious unworthiness of such high encomium; pleasure, that love can place virtues in the sunlight, and failings in the shade. Fearing to trust herself with a serious reply, she took refuge in a jest, and answered, 'Pray, Mr. Music-Director, who has buoyed you up with such hopes? What if I should prove to you now, that all this praise of our future lot has, as far as I am concerned, no true foundation!'

'That I defy you to do,' said Ebeling, resolutely.

'Well, then, since you challenge me,' cried Dorothea with animation, 'I must needs do it! In the first place, you think you can rely on my faithfulness. Of course, if you are resolved on doing so, I cannot prevent you, but remember I do not advise to it! I no doubt committed a very silly act in pressing myself upon you when I could not be sure whether or not you would have me. I rather think, I even told you, too, that I love you with all my heart; but it by no means follows, that you may safely confide in my fidelity. I can with great truth assure you, that there are several other people whom I love from the bottom of my heart; so you see my fidelity is rather a brittle reed to lean upon!'

Ebeling opened his eyes very wide, and looked at his betrothed as if not quite sure whether she was in jest or earnest. At length he asked, in a timid voice:—'And who are these several people?'

Dorothea kept her countenance and gravely answered, 'First, there is Paul Frederic Gerhardt, whom I must insist on having by me one hour daily, at the least; then there is his poor, dear, sick mother, to whom I belong for two hours daily; next comes a certain Master Jung, who can claim three hours of my time, which makes six out of every twenty-four, which you have to deduct from the conjugal devotedness on which you so confidently reckon!'

'Be it so!' said Ebeling, with a relieved heart; 'to such faith-

lessness I will try to make up my mind! 'Moreover,' continued he smiling, 'I can give tit-for-tat. In fact, I may as well confess to you, that (supposing you do not retract your promise to be my dear little wife,) you must consent to a life of bigamy, for my first and still beloved wife, Lady Harmony, will, I rather think now and then make good her old claims upon me, and there might possibly occur days, in which I should be so entirely occupied with the heavenly bride, as to forget my earthly one!'

'These words, spoken in jest, made a deeper impression on Dorothea than Ebeling expected; her countenance assumed an expression of actual seriousness as she resumed:—

'I have not yet done with the list of those whom I love and revere. There is one other man who has for years possessed my whole heart; for whom I have shed many a silent tear; offered up to God many a secret prayer; for whose welfare and happiness I would willingly make every sacrifice; whose sorrow is my sorrow, and his joy my joy, and shall I tell you why? Because I owe to this man the happiest hours of my life; the knowledge, indeed, of what life really is. His words first breathed a soft vivifying influence on my soul, and his example shed a light upon my path. I am bound to tell you all this, Mr. Ebeling, for unless you can be satisfied with so divided a heart—'

'Ebeling felt himself placed in the most painful embarrassment. The imperturbable gravity, and yet the almost passionate eagerness with which Dorothea made this, to a betrothed lover, anything but agreeable revelation, and his immutable conviction of the spotless purity in heart and life of his affianced bride, brought his thoughts into a state of such inextricable confusion as he could neither master nor conceal. The evident pain he suffered induced Dorothea to check herself, and to conclude her harangue in a tone very like remorse. 'Have you no desire to know this man, Ebeling!'

'After a moment's pause, her lover said: 'I must confess, my dear girl, you gave me a severe pang, for I could not at the instant see clearly to whom you alluded, and my mind was in a chaos; but I feel now certain you speak of Mr. Paul Gerhardt; am I right?'

Gerhardt's decision to refrain from ministerial work is not well received by his parishioners; they come to take him by force; his child is at the point of death:—

'In this hour of deep sorrow, while the bowed-down parents had neither eye nor ear for any external interest, and every thought and feeling was bound up in their dying child, a confused and unusual noise of men's voices, seemingly in no pacific mood, suddenly arose in front of the house. A foreboding of evil thrilled through Gerhardt's bosom, which jarred painfully with the deep-toned anxiety his child's precarious state occasioned. For a moment he hoped that the tumult would pass onward, but he hoped in vain; the turmoil waxed louder and louder, his name resounded from all sides, and loud and hasty steps were heard ascending the stairs.

‘ ‘Alas!’ exclaimed the anxious mother, ‘what can be the matter? Shall not our poor boy be suffered even to die in peace?’

‘Before Gerhardt could reply, his sister-in-law announced that a crowd of citizens requested to speak with him.

‘ ‘Do not let them in!’ cried the nervously-excited wife; these are not friends, but opposers and enemies, who desire your destruction. Woe is me! May not our poor child close his eyes in peace?’

‘ ‘Compose yourself, Maria,’ entreated Gerhardt, ‘and do not at once fear the worst. They are burghers who desire to speak to me, and therefore I cannot refuse them, for I am still their pastor, I am still bound by the solemn vows which engaged me to serve my congregation with body, soul, and all I possess. Go, my dear sister, and conduct the people into the large room, and I will come to them; here, beside my child’s dying bed, they cannot enter.’

‘ ‘And will you forsake me in this hour of extremity?’ asked his wife, with a flood of tears; ‘will you not wait to see your last child die? Can you leave me all alone in my terror and sorrow, to brood over dangers to you, in addition to what I dread for our son?’

‘ ‘Maria,’ returned her husband, solemnly, ‘Why only fear and anguish, and no hope? Are not life and death in God’s hand? Cannot the almighty and all-merciful Father in heaven say to this child, ‘arise?’ And what injury can befall me from my own congregation? Take courage, then, my dearest life. I hear how impatient they are for my coming; and if I am not able to return on the instant, send me word from time to time how it goes with our child. Watch and pray, Maria, that you fall not into temptation.’ So saying, he bent over the little sufferer, kissed the cold, damp forehead, and the breaking eyes, and, scarcely restraining his tears, left the apartment.’

A report had been circulated in the city that the pastor was already carried off to Spandau. Satisfied of his personal liberty, and abashed by his prompt reproof, the multitude is about to disperse, ‘when the hasty tread of men ascending the stairs was heard:’—

‘ ‘There come the elector’s guards to carry off our Gerhardt to Spandau! help, neighbours, help!’ The words operated upon the incensed and irritable spirits present, like a spark thrown into a mass of gunpowder.’

‘ ‘Do not let them up! guard the stairs! down with the first that enters! They that are tired of life may try it!’ resounded from all sides in wild and fierce exclamations; and whilst one party threw themselves upon the upper steps so as effectually to block up the passage, another closed round the alarmed and deeply distressed preacher, upon whose mind this sudden announcement of the approaching soldiery had made a strong and painful impression; and that nothing might be wanting to complete his mental disquietude, in the midst of all the fearful hubbub, the door of an adjoining room was opened, and the hapless mother appeared wringing her hands, and exclaiming in a voice broken by sobs—‘Gerhardt, Gerhardt! wouldst thou see our child before he expires, come instantly!’

‘ Happily Gerhardt heard her not. Fixed, statue-like in the tumultuous crowd, insensible to the woeful appeal of his wife, and the shouts of the citizens, with clasped hands and bended head, he stood speechless and motionless, as if awaiting that counsel from on high, of which he was so greatly in need.’

The ascending party have by this time turned out to be Master Jung and a party of trusty friends, with whose seasonable help the riot is at last hushed. While the citizens are quitting the hall, the chamber-door re-opens, and Mrs. Gerhardt, ‘ with a smile of unspeakable happiness,’ announces, ‘ Our boy is saved ! At the very moment when we expected to see him breathe his last, he opened his eyes, bright and clear, and asked for you ! Oh, come, dear husband, and rejoice with us !’ These good tidings overwhelm for the moment Gerhardt’s too excited heart :—

‘ Now, as in a dream, the former cry of his wife resounded in his ears, and in imagination he saw all the death conflict through which his boy had passed. With audible thanksgivings he knelt for a moment in their midst, then rising, said to the lingering citizens, ‘ Now I know what the Lord wills concerning me ! I must myself plead my cause ! Friends, pray for me. Early to-morrow morning, so God will, I go to the elector !’ Then, slowly turning, he entered the chamber of his wife, who mingled her tears of joy with his ; and the citizens withdrew in silence to their homes.’

The loss of daily bread is but confirmed by this ‘ last attempt,’ and Master Jung carries the whole family to his home, which he insists on their sharing. There, after a few months have elapsed, Maria breathes out her soul in one of her husband’s lyrics :—

‘ O God, my joy and crown !
Leave not my soul alone
To bear sin’s dreadful load ;
But let atoning blood
Blot it for ever from thy holy sight !

Then, if thy wisdom guide,
Thy grace my lot provide,
And all my earthly way
Thy sovereign will obey,
Thy dealings must be good, and kind, and right !

All suffering, sin, and grief,
Will one day find relief ;
When ocean’s storms are past,
And lull’d the howling blast,
Fairer and sweeter seems the sunny beam !

‘Fulness of joy and peace,
 Calm which amounts to bliss,
 Wait me in Eden’s bowers
 Mid God’s transplanted flowers,
 And this my morning thought and nightly dream!’

The last tie thus sundered, that bound the now aged Gerhardt to the banks of the Spree, he gladly accepts a pastorate at Lübben in Saxony, near to his native town Gräfenhainichen; where, in his seventieth year (June, 1676), death for him

‘Shut the gate of bitter woe,
 Open’d up the heavenly way,
 That his unchained feet might go
 To the realms of heavenly day!’

There is much in the pages of the pastor Wildenhahn which furnishes matter for instructive comment. The minute detail of the dying communion, and the unflinching confession exacted of the unhappy Lilius in his last moments; the ruin and repentance of the treacherous Stolpe; the ceremonial of Dorothea’s wedding; are, however, too lengthy for our pages. Our readers must pardon us this last demand on their attention:—

‘Commit thy ways, thy sorrows, thy wishes, and thy fears,
 To Him who with a master’s hand directs the rolling spheres,
 The stars, the clouds, the tempests, obey his high decree,
 Shall not his wisdom find a path of safety too for thee?’

Place in the Lord thy confidence if thou would’st have it stand;
 Build on the Lord, and he will bless the labours of thy hand!
 To anxious days, and sleepless nights, and unbelieving care,
 God never yields his benefits, they are the fruits of prayer.

Almighty, gracious Father! by thee and thee alone,
 What will subserve the good of all thy ransomed ones is known,
 And what thy wisdom ordereth, since all things thee obey,
 Thy power will surely bring to pass in thine own time and way.

What though that way may often seem wondrous in our eyes,
 ’Tis full of peace and blessing, is merciful and wise;
 And when it is thy pleasure to crown with earthly good,
 We shall obtain the treasure, though earth and hell withstood.

A child-like faith shall conquer, and lest thy heart should fail,
 Think on the Christian’s motto, ‘Faint, pursuing still.’
 See God himself displaying the palm which thou shalt wear
 When thou in heaven’s court shall sing, His praise who brought thee
 there.’

- ART. X.—1. *The 'Patriot,' June 3rd, and September 2nd and 20th.*
 2. *The 'Manchester Times,' April 9th.*
 3. *The Leeds Mercury,' June 5th.*
 4. *The 'Nonconformist,' August 25th, and September 8th.*
 5. *The 'Manchester Guardian,' August 25th and 28th, and September the 4th.*

IN our last number we abstained from referring to certain proceedings that had taken place in Manchester, in connexion with the educational controversy which has so deeply agitated the dissenting body. We did so designedly, and for reasons which will be appreciated by our readers. We were far from deeming these proceedings trivial, or from viewing them with indifference. On the contrary, we regarded them with deep regret, believing they were adapted to mislead the government, and would be referred to by the opponents of free education, in defence of their doings. Still we were anxious to avoid the suspicion of allowing personal considerations to influence our judgment, and therefore discussed the course of dissenting policy, without referring to what we deemed a mistaken and mischievous procedure. Desirous of guarding ourselves from misconstruction, we abstained from adverting to a false step taken by some of our own number, under circumstances, and at a time, which could not fail to be productive of most pernicious results. Our worst apprehension has been realised. Without charging intentional delusion on any, our conviction is, that the government has been deceived, the public mind been abused, and an appearance of division been given to our proceedings, to a far greater extent, and of a much more weighty character, than the facts of the case justify. For the reasons already adverted to, we should still abstain from all reference to the matter, had it not been for a controversy which has recently appeared in the Manchester papers, and which, on various accounts, we deem it incumbent to notice. This controversy has arisen out of the movement we have adverted to, and is singularly illustrative of the state of opinion in some quarters. We must therefore refer to the movement itself, and in doing so, shall give free utterance to our views, while we scrupulously observe all the courtesies which are due to the gentlemen taking part in it. We have yet to learn that the censure of a public act involves personal asperities, or necessitates the violation of a generous candor.

It is well known to our readers—we need scarcely repeat it—

that the Minutes of Council on Education presented to parliament by her majesty's ministers, were regarded with alarm and unmitigated hostility by an overwhelming majority of the dissenters of this country. The feeling was all but universal amongst the two sections of the congregational body, the society of Friends, and the offshoots of the Wesleyan denomination. The opposition raised was, in consequence, prompt and energetic. Petitions, signed by more than half a million, were presented to the Commons; and when these were found to be unavailing, it was resolved to carry the opposition to the polling-booth, in order that Candidates, if they would not admit the soundness of our views, might at least learn the expediency of respecting our convictions. It is no exaggeration to say that our modern history supplies no parallel to the unanimity and zeal with which this course was resolved on. Men of all shades of opinion, those who were deemed moderate, and such as were reputed ultra, were here perfectly one. There was no shadow of pretence for alleging, as had been done in some former cases, that a section only was concerned, a numerous one, it may be, but still one more noisy and zealous, than potent or wise. The exceptions were so few, as not to call for special notice; and even of these, the most influential went far in agreement with their brethren. Previously to the government plan being divulged, a controversy had arisen respecting the primary question involved, on which, as is well known, Mr. Edward Baines, jun., and Dr. Vaughan, took opposite sides. On the merits of that controversy we are not going to speak. Our judgment is on record, and we see no reason to modify it. What has since occurred, has only impressed us the more deeply with a sense of the mischiefs which have grown out of the extensive division of opinion, which it was supposed to indicate. Our opponents were thereby encouraged to persist in their plan. They appealed to our own men in reply to our arguments. They fought us with weapons borrowed from our own arsenal, and contemned our strength on the supposition that our forces were divided. Even after Dr. Vaughan had denounced the ministerial plan, and was believed to have abandoned all confidence in governmental aid, or indeed desire for it, his authority was invoked by parliamentary orators, and even by cabinet ministers, in vindication of the course pursued by her majesty's advisers. His recent declarations of hostility were unnoticed, whilst his former reasonings and statistics were paraded. The dishonesty of this needs no comment. We have now to do only with the injury inflicted on our cause.

So far as Dr. Vaughan himself was concerned, we have no ground for complaint in this matter. We are desirous of being

distinctly understood on this point. We speak with frankness, and claim to be believed. His mode of conducting the controversy may have been right or wrong. His temper may have been praiseworthy or otherwise. With these points we have now nothing to do. Entertaining the opinions he did, he was fully entitled to state and defend them. We claim liberty of speech for ourselves, and readily yield it, in its largest sense, to him. We find no fault with him therefore, for contesting the views of Mr. Baines, however much we dissent from his conclusions, or regret the consequences of his procedure. As an upright man he was bound to give utterance to what he believed truth. It was his duty, and he was right fearlessly to discharge it. So far, therefore, all is clear, our difference having respect to the opinions advocated, and not to the advocacy itself.

At length, the government plan was propounded, and its first and most obvious apparent effect was, to unite all sections of evangelical dissenters. Every appearance of division was at once removed. Dr. Vaughan and Mr. Baines were instantly agreed. A general conference of the opponents of the measure was convened in London in April last, and both Mr. Baines and Dr. Vaughan attended, as delegates from their respective localities. The latter gentleman was placed, of course, in a delicate and somewhat trying position. The ground he had formerly taken led many to regard his movements with special attention; but the earnestness with which he had expressed himself on various occasions, and the apparent triumph which principle had obtained over all personal considerations, led others—amongst whom we ranked—to regard his course with admiration. We were not slow or reluctant to express this feeling, as our language at the time will shew. ‘Few things,’ we then remarked, ‘have been more gratifying to us than the course pursued by Dr. Vaughan. It does him infinite honor, and deserves to be generously met. There was much to make him pause, but he threw from him with noble frankness all that was little and mean, and avowed without reserve the change which his views had undergone.’* In common with dissenters generally, we understood his language to indicate an entire mistrust of the government, and a settled conviction that, so long as an established church existed, no equitable system of national education could be hoped for. That we may not be suspected of misrepresenting him, we give his words as reported on various occasions in the public prints of the day, and regret that subsequent occurrences have compelled us to modify our view of his course.

‘My hope has been,’ he said, at the Congregational Conference on Education, ‘that some course might be devised by which the agency of

* April 1847, p. 509.

the state might be made to act as a wholesome stimulus to voluntary effort in this field of labour. But I now utterly despair of any thing of the sort; and *my conviction is, after the most serious thought I have been able to bring on the subject, that we must as Nonconformists, from henceforth abandon all thought of looking to the State for aid in this work.* It must now be our fixed resolve that all we do in education *shall be done wholly by ourselves*; and in all justice we may insist that what is done in this way by our neighbours should be done after the same manner—done by themselves.'

In a lecture at Manchester, he said,

'The time would certainly seem to have come for us to reach the conclusion, that, as respects this country, *popular education is not a thing for the State to meddle with.*' He spoke of dissent as 'a deeply wronged thing,' which must 'war with never-slumbering energy against all meddling of the civil authority with religious matters.' 'If it did come to this, he would do his part.'

At a large county meeting held in Manchester, in April last, the language used was to the same effect. So unequivocal was it, that we can scarcely admit the possibility of any other construction being put on his words, than that which was universally adopted.

'They (the dissenters) felt no difference of judgment,' remarked Dr. Vaughan, 'as to something greatly extended in the shape of apparatus as the means of education being needed: with regard to that point they were sure they had been wanting in the necessary means to a considerable extent; but with regard to *looking to government for aid in this question, he must confess he had come to the conclusion that it was time for them to have done with that thought.* Nor did he think that they should secure the means of doing the utmost they could by their own exertions, till they had cast away the *last lingering hope of any external aid.*'

So decided were the views then expressed, that he condemned, as by anticipation, the 'New Minute,' which Mr. Fletcher and others now eulogize as a concession to religious liberty. Referring to the *Report* required on the religious training of the schools, Dr. Vaughan remarked, in allusion to dissenters:—

'They could not obtain the aid necessary to pay the schoolmaster's stipend but as they were prepared to make this report. And if that were not so, and they were left to give simply an education in their schools without inspection, still the fact that they were to be contributors, and mixed up with the payment of religious teaching in other schools with which they could not conscientiously agree, rendered this a system to which they could not be parties. It would be of no avail to treat these matters as of trivial importance; they involved great principles.'

Taking these statements together, we deemed them decisive; and were, therefore, wholly unprepared for the resolutions ad-

vertised in the 'Patriot' of June the 3rd, and least of all for the one moved by Dr. Vaughan. It is true he had published a letter in the 'Morning Chronicle' during the sittings of the Educational Conference, which we deemed most unadvised. But we shrunk from the conclusion to which some were led by that letter, and were therefore taken by surprise when we read the resolutions of the 28th of May. The following is that to which Dr. Vaughan's name is attached. It constitutes the fifth of the series:—

'That, *confiding in her Majesty's government* as willing to adjust their measure in relation to this object on a principle of fairness towards all parties, so as best to subserve our general interest as a free people, we regard it as incumbent on us to state that, in our view, it will be strictly necessary, if a concurrence with government agency on this subject is to be secured from any large number of dissenters, that the sums granted in aid of schools conducted by such parties, should be granted purely in furtherance of the general instructions given in them; that the government, accordingly, should forego all inquiry in regard to the religious knowledge which may be imparted in such institutions; and, furthermore, that to preclude all ground for suspicion as to impartiality in the distribution of the proposed aid, it would be of great importance that the sum voted in Parliament in favour of such schools should be a separate sum, and grounded on the minutes specially relating to schools of this class.'

This resolution was followed by another, in which, among other things, it is affirmed:—

'That in our judgment all parties receiving public money in aid of popular education should *so distinguish between the general and the religious instruction they communicate*, as to leave the former open in all cases to the community at large, in place of so connecting it with the latter as to render it necessary that the children should always receive the peculiar religious teaching of the school along with its general teaching.'

To these statements, the 'Leeds Mercury' of June the 5th refers in terms demonstrative of the hollowness of their basis; and we marvel much at the obliquity which prevents any disinterested man from seeing the force and conclusiveness of its reasoning:—

- 'If we understand these resolutions aright,' says the editor, 'they imply that dissenters might take the government money, if government would ask no question about the religious teaching: and they recommend those who take the money to separate the general from the religious instruction in their schools. We think these recommendations most dangerous and ensnaring. It is clearly implied that the education in the schools is to be religious, though the religious instruction is recommended to be separated from the secular. Now could a congregation receive government money for schools where the education was religious, and

safely or honestly say that it only received the money for the secular part of the education, and not for the religious? We should call this a wretched evasion. We should think it calculated entirely to break down the Nonconformist principle, and to accustom the people to a dangerous tampering with conscience. What signifies it whether government ask questions about religious teaching or not? What signifies it whether government pretend that their grant is 'purely in furtherance of the general instruction?' If it is notorious to the congregation that in point of fact the education is religious, common sense will tell them that they are receiving government money in aid of religious education.'

On these resolutions it is needless further to comment. Let those who can, reconcile them with the language previously uttered in London and Manchester. We leave it to our readers to make the attempt, and proceed to the more general matters involved.

The resolutions in question, it must be borne in mind, were put forth just prior to the general election. This is an important fact, and will serve to explain their object. We have no desire to impute bad motives. We believe that some of the parties concerned aimed only at an honest record of their views, and would have declined the part they took, had they supposed that any electioneering interest was to be served. Let us, however, look narrowly at the case. Dissenters, generally—we are warranted to use this language—had recorded their want of confidence in her majesty's government, and their determination to make the educational an electoral question. These movements, it is notorious, were regarded with alarm; and from various parts of the country, the supporters of Lord John Russell received significant hints of the dangers which threatened them. It was, therefore, of the utmost importance that a diversion should be effected in our camp—that an appearance, at least, of division should be wrought, and an occasion be furnished, by some trifling modification of the government scheme, to disarrange our plans, and, if possible, disorganize our force. Just so much, the Manchester resolutions were adapted to effect; and we owe it entirely to the integrity and practical good sense of the nonconformist body, that they did not accomplish their end. We shall presently see that Mr. Fletcher assigns them considerable power over the proceedings of the Ministry, and it were folly to deny that they were regarded by the Whig party, generally, as an 'outward and visible sign' of our division and consequent weakness.

But it may be alleged, that the gentlemen who adopted these resolutions were perfectly competent to place their views on record, and are not responsible for any erroneous impression received from them. The former position we admit, the latter we deny. Their right to speak is undoubted, but their non-

responsibility is dependent on the mode in which their resolutions were given to the public. Now in this matter we believe they greatly erred. A fictitious weight was given to their resolutions by the manner in which they were announced. The form adopted led inevitably to the conclusion, that they were expressive of the views of various parties convened by circular or other means, and were, therefore, to be regarded as the deliberate conviction of many assembled minds. We know not who forwarded the resolutions to the newspapers, or who drew up their preamble, and cannot, therefore, have any personal reference in saying, that such preamble is dishonest, false even in letter, but still more false in spirit. We have seldom met with a more flagrant instance of misrepresentation, and that, too, in a case in which the wrong was subservient to the obvious purpose of the resolutions. Let our readers look at the preamble itself, and then mark the facts of the case. They will bear in mind that there were six resolutions, requiring, of course, twelve persons as movers and seconders, with whom the chairman made the thirteenth. The preamble runs thus:—‘POPULAR EDUCATION—At a Meeting of Friends of Popular Education, resident in Manchester and Salford, held at the Rooms of the Law Society, Norfolk-street, on Friday, the 28th inst.; the following resolutions were carried unanimously.’ Now for the explanation. It is given by Mr. George Hadfield in his admirable reply to Messrs. Fletcher and Hunter, which appeared in the ‘Manchester Guardian’ of the 4th of September, and is to the following effect:—

‘Mr. Fletcher now publicly announces that the effect of the resolutions ‘passed 29th (28th) May last, has been to lead the government wisely and considerately, to remove on behalf of dissenters, the religious objection which had previously attached to the ‘Minutes of Council on Education,’ and which Mr. Porter and most other dissenters consider to be a ‘snare.’’ And your other correspondent, Mr. Hunter, with his usual candour of spirit and elegance of diction, asserts, ‘that in consequence of those *resolutions*, or those alleged communications, a supplementary minute was issued, which, if worked out in its integrity destroys much of the stock in trade of the *grievance-mongers* with whom (the then) last week’s meeting originated.’

‘These announcements are astounding. The meeting of 29th [28th] May consisted of *thirteen* gentlemen (my informant said, *perhaps* there might be *two or three* more, but this being doubtful, I beg to leave them out of my consideration), *one* of whom was the chairman of this singular meeting, and he has since (Mr. Poore assured us), disclaimed the principle on which the resolutions were founded, and the remaining *twelve* passed six resolutions, which were moved by *six* of their number, and seconded by the remaining *six*! *Four* of these gentlemen consisted of two tutors, the secretary, and the treasurer of the Lancashire Indepen-

dent College. One of these four, the Rev. Dr. Davidson, has since, like the chairman, changed his opinion, and declared the object of the resolutions to be 'impossible.' The learned doctor, in a published letter of 2nd August, condemns the new minute in the strongest terms, and expresses his disappointment at its purport. * * * * *

'Mr. Samuel Lucas, the mover of the third resolution, has also publicly announced that 'he would still object to the government scheme,' even if they conceded the point of relief to the dissenters. There remain, therefore, *ten* gentlemen 'to point out' to the government how help *from public money* 'might be made acceptable to the *reasonable part of the dissenting community*' (Mr. Hunter), which being explained, simply means how it might be made acceptable to themselves.

'It is perfectly *incredible* that a correct statement of these facts would have influenced her majesty's ministers, on this great question, in the smallest degree. There must have been other representations of some sort from some quarter, besides what appear in the resolutions. No *ten* gentlemen in the kingdom could have turned the government from its original purpose. Mr. Fletcher says, the resolutions '*did rest on the alone responsibility of the parties themselves.*' He says, they 'simply' state themselves to be *friends of 'popular education resident in Manchester.*' Why does Mr. Fletcher misquote this? The advertisement from which he quotes, begins thus, 'Popular Education.—At a meeting of friends of Popular Education, resident in Manchester and Salford, held at the Rooms of the Law Society, Norfolk-street, on Friday the 28th instant; John Robertson, Esq. in the chair; the following resolutions were carried *unanimously.*' Why, then, has he omitted the reference to Salford? First, because he knows there was no Salford gentleman present, and therefore the original announcement contains a mistake; and, next, because it is ridiculously absurd to suppose that the *thirteen* Manchester gentlemen, at the Law Society Rooms, represented, in any sense whatever, the 'friends of popular education in *Manchester and Salford,*' which towns contain a teeming population of 250,000 inhabitants. The words were calculated to mislead, and I have no doubt they did mislead, however unintentionally, the government.'

We had previously heard a statement to this effect, but could not credit it. It was so opposite to all our notions of what is ingenuous and honorable that we rejected the report as a libel. Alas, for us, that we are come to this! If such dishonesty—we can use no milder term—is practised by Christian men, need we wonder at the falsehoods which are uttered by the daily and weekly press? In the name and on the behalf of truth we say, let us have done with such practices. They are unworthy of our profession, and tend to lower our standard of morals. Even if Salford had been omitted, the words employed would have been adapted to produce a false impression, and ought, therefore, to have been avoided as unworthy of honorable, to say nothing of Christian, men. Nor can we suppose that it was altogether foreign from the intention

of the framers of this preamble to give a fictitious weight to their resolutions. Nothing was easier than to frame the one in exact keeping with the other, but they must have felt that it would be supremely ridiculous to publish them as the resolutions simply of the movers and seconders. With all respect for the gentlemen concerned, every one would have laughed at the egregious vanity of such a procedure, and have turned from it with contempt. We maintain, therefore, that the parties concerned are responsible for the false impression made. If the preamble was adopted by the meeting itself, all who were present must share this responsibility, but if it was drawn up afterwards, and issued without their cognizance, the blame is imputable only to its framers.

Thus stood matters up to the 17th of August, when a meeting of nonconformists was held in Manchester, for the purpose of organizing a Board of Dissenters, on a principle analogous to that of the Protestant Dissenting Deputies of London. The meeting was called by circulars, one of which was addressed to Mr. Samuel Fletcher, a gentleman of high personal repute, but of somewhat equivocal ecclesiastical standing. Mr. Fletcher declined to attend, and sent a letter expressive of his reasons for doing so. Some of his statements surprised us, and we involuntarily asked ourselves where the writer had spent the last five years. We can scarcely imagine a reflecting man, with his eyes open to what has been recently occurring, both at home and in our colonies, coolly affirming, as Mr. Fletcher does, that he rejoiced 'in the conviction that the rights of nonconformists are as secure as the laws of England can make them;' that he could 'see no evidence of any disposition in the church by law established, to impugn them by usurpations and encroachments,' and that, in his judgment, there never was 'less disposition in the legislature to interfere with any man's opinions, political or ecclesiastical.' Sir James Graham's Factory Bill, the Endowment of Maynooth, the Minutes of Council on Education, the imprisonment of Bidwell, and the desperate efforts made in many of our colonies to rear state-churchism on the overthrow of voluntaryism, immediately recurred to us, and we asked, does Mr. Fletcher deem these things compatible with the security of our rights, or indicative of the tolerant and liberal policy of our rulers? But enough of this. Mr. Fletcher's letter threw down the gauntlet, and it would therefore have been surprising if the procedure of himself and friends, at the Law Society's rooms, on the 28th May, had not been adverted to, and been reprobated. This was accordingly done by several of the speakers; and, amongst the rest, by Mr. Hadfield, whose position and past services added special weight to his censure.

These animadversions gave rise to three letters from Mr. Thomas Hunter, Mr. Samuel Fletcher, and Mr. Joseph Grave, which were published in the 'Manchester Guardian,' and were replied to by Dr. Massie and Mr. Hadfield. The letters of Mr. Hunter and Mr. Grave call for little remark. They may be despatched with few words, as they contain nothing in the way of argument which calls for reply, and are equally destitute of literary excellence and of a candid spirit. Indeed, we are at some loss to account for their appearance. Their authors must have been marvellously concerned to be seen in print—eager beyond what is common, and for reasons which do not appear in their communications, to be known to the public as the censurers of their more earnest and consistent brethren. Messrs. Griffin and Poore are of course duly sensible of the honour done them by Mr. Hunter, whose perspicacity and sound judgment are strikingly shown in the influence he attributes to the *New Minute on Education*, which, he assures us, to quote his own elegant phraseology, 'if worked out in its integrity, destroys much of the stock in trade of the grievance-mongers, with whom last week's meeting originated.*' The affectation which recoils from the turmoil attendant on the vindication of religious liberty, whilst such insinuations are preferred against Christian men, is one of the most sickly and contemptible exhibitions we can witness.

Mr. Grave's letter has both amused and pained us. His

* Since writing the above, we have seen the 'Manchester Times' of September 11th, which contains a long and admirable letter from the Rev. James Griffin. Of this letter we cannot speak in too high terms, and we regret that it was not before us during the preparation of our article. Had it been so, we should have availed ourselves, to a considerable extent, of its able and conclusive reasonings. The temper of the letter is at once so urbane and self-respectful; its style is so free from acrimony; its sentiments are so healthy, manful, and Christian-like; and its logic is so clear and effective, as to induce an earnest desire that it may have a wide circulation. We say this the more readily as we are entire strangers to Mr. Griffin, and cannot therefore be suspected of the leaning which arises out of private friendship or the fellowship of public labors. Referring to the resolutions of May 28th, Mr. Griffin says, 'In regard to the particular occasion of this letter, the first of my hearing of a design to obtain a new 'minute of council' was from Dr. Vaughan himself, who did me the favour to call upon me to induce me to join in the project. That project alarmed me, as inconsistent with the objections urged by nearly the whole body of dissenters, and not less by Dr. Vaughan himself, against 'the minutes,' as most partially favourable to the church establishment; against the unconstitutional authority of 'the Committee of the Council for Education;' and against the centralizing system of the government. It alarmed me likewise as tending again to divide us among ourselves, and to weaken our independent action as the friends of voluntary education. These views I respectfully urged on the attention of Dr. Vaughan, as those which would compel me to decline co-operation with his movement.'

allusion to the 'three tailors in Tooley-street,' made us smile, while his reference to the past filled us with disgust. Public confessions are seldom honorable to the party who makes them, and Mr. Grave furnishes no exception to the rule. 'That I have myself,' he says, 'been an agitator for the separation of the church from the state, is now matter of sincere regret to me. I said, at that time, that I had a *conscientious* objection to an establishment of religion; but I believe now that *conscience* had nothing to do with the matter, and that I was under the influence of a perverted judgment.' Such is the man who oracularly, and with ominous confusion, pronounces 'the recent appointment of nonconformist deputies *either* foolish or mischievous—foolish, if it have no aim except the obtaining of a separation of the church from the state; and mischievous, if such be its aim, because there can be no doubt that, if the agitators would condescend to define their terms, it would be found that a separation of the church from the state *would involve a flagrant and revolutionary violation of the rights of private property.*' Mr. Hadfield and others must doubtless tremble under the weight of such a censure; but the confession of the penitent may well balance the sentence of the judge. We appeal from the latter to the former, and are perfectly easy. The man who can coolly convict himself, as Mr. Grave does, has no *status* in the court to which Christian men should appeal. We should not have noticed the letters of Messrs. Hunter and Grave, if they had not afforded an instructive illustration of the views and temper of the men, who are now seeking to divide and weaken the nonconformist body. 'Save me from my friends,' must be the exclamation of Dr. Vaughan, on reading the epistles written on his behalf.

The letter of Mr. Samuel Fletcher calls for more extended remark, in offering which we are concerned to bear in mind his personal excellencies, and the various services he has rendered to religious truth. It is on account of our high estimate of these, that we shall notice, at length, some of his statements, in which we regret to observe singular misapprehensions on points of fact, a confusion of ideas destructive of his authority as a guide, and a discreditable ignorance on some of the most important practical questions which now agitate the public mind. The charge preferred against the meeting of the 17th of August, of exhibiting a spirit 'more indicative of the hustings of a contested election, than of a grave assemblage of men intent on promoting wise and Christian objects,' may safely be left to those who have read the report of its proceedings. Such language is perpetually uttered by those who are more concerned for peace than for truth, are more intent on maintaining good

fellowship with the advocates of error, than of vindicating the spirituality of the church and the supremacy of Christ. It was used against Luther, and was repeated in our country against the earlier puritans and nonconformists. It is a sort of stereotyped phraseology ready to the hand of the slothful, the ignorant, or the temporizing, and may be dismissed with a simple contradiction. We are the more surprised at Mr. Fletcher's assertion, that 'the majority of dissenters feel indebted for the consideration he (Dr. Vaughan) has given to the question.' Now Dr. Vaughan may have been right or wrong in the views he has advocated, and in the character of his advocacy, but how any gentleman, with the facts of the case before him, can venture on such an assertion, we are at a loss to imagine. The case is so clear that we did not conceive the possibility of any human being falling into error on the point, and should be glad to know how it has so happened to Mr. Fletcher. The resolutions adopted throughout the kingdom, the large and earnest assembly which met at Crosby Hall, the more than half a million of petitioners who addressed the Commons' House, and the marvellous effects produced at the recent election, would seem to intimate—and to our poor apprehension certainly do intimate—the very reverse. Indeed, there can be no doubt here. Mr. Fletcher has clearly fallen into a gross error, and in doing so, has shown himself to be disqualified for a calm, large, and impartial view of the questions he has undertaken to decide.

We have already by anticipation exposed the fallacy of his attempted vindication of the gentlemen concerned in the getting up of the resolutions of the 28th May. According to his version of the matter, they were marvellously modest. 'They never presumed to consider themselves as representing the nonconformist body. They did not even state themselves to be dissenters, but simply *'friends of popular education, resident in Manchester;'* and under this unassuming title, their proceedings went forth to the public.' All this may be very true, but what then? There may be falsehood in the *spirit* of a document, as well as in the *letter*; and such, we maintain, was the case in the present instance. It was adapted to produce, and actually did produce, an impression, greatly beyond what the facts of the case justify, and it is of no avail, therefore, for Mr. Fletcher to plead the absence of verbal falsehood. The testimony of Mr. Porter of Darwen, in his able letter to the 'Patriot' of the 5th of July, is decisive here, and no attempt, so far as we are informed, has been made to contradict it.

A more important point is the influence of these resolutions on the proceedings of government. Mr. Fletcher maintains, that 'the effect of them has been to lead the government wisely

and considerably to remove, on behalf of dissenters, the religious objection which had previously attached to 'the Minutes of Council on Education:' and Mr. Hunter affirms, that '*in consequence*' of them, 'or those alleged communications, a supplementary minute was issued.' Such is the allegation of the parties accused, on which we venture two remarks. First, If the Supplementary Minute was induced by the resolutions in question, those resolutions must have been regarded by the government, in a very different light from that in which Mr. Porter's letter and Mr. Hadfield's explanation, exhibits them. To suppose that the sentiments of thirteen gentlemen—many of whom, we may say without disrespect, had no special claims to be regarded as expounders of our views,—should modify the procedure of government, is simply ridiculous, and may be dismissed without a word. But secondly, If the resolutions *simply* did not do it, then we ask, was any communication had with government, and if so, what was its character? We are aware of the indirect and semi-official mode frequently adopted on these occasions, and we put our inquiry, therefore, as in a court of honor, from which all evasion and mere fencing is excluded. It will not suffice to tell us, that no communication was held with the Premier, the President of the Council, or the Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education. All this may be, and yet representations may have been conveyed to high quarters, materially affecting our character and views. The silence of Mr. Fletcher, and the equivocal language of Mr. Hunter, on this point, confirm our suspicions, and render an explicit disclosure of the secret history of the transaction absolutely needful.

'The matter' remarks Mr. Hadfield, 'cannot rest here; and I call upon Mr. Fletcher and Mr. Hunter, as men of unblemished honour, to publish all the correspondence and other communications that were had with the government, and which induced the council to grant the new minute, in order 'to meet the extremely refined objections held by congregational dissenters;' and also to state whether it was not part of the scheme to get up the meeting of the 28th of May; whether the resolutions were not submitted to members of the government *previous* to the meeting; whether some *pledge* was not given that such resolutions should be procured, and whether this was made known at the meeting; whether there were admissions that the resolutions had been 'fenced' to meet such and such considerations; whether several of the congregational ministers of Manchester or Salford were not urgently requested to attend the meeting; why all of them were not invited to attend; and (with one exception) whether they (the invited ministers) did not refuse to sacrifice their consistency, and did not protest against the movement. When this information has been obtained, we shall be

enabled to judge how the interests of our denomination have been dealt with by the gentlemen who took upon themselves to represent them in a clandestine treaty with the government of the country.'

The gentlemen thus appealed to, have preserved a suspicious silence, and we wait to see whether others will imitate their example. Should they do so, the inference to be drawn cannot be doubtful. We confess to a strong feeling on this point. As dissenters we have been deeply injured on more occasions than one by secret communications with men in authority. A notable instance of this is recorded in the life of Lord Sidmouth, to which we adverted in a recent number of our journal;* and Dr. Vaughan, and his associates, owe it to their own character, if such communication has taken place, to lay it entire before the public. Should any objection exist to *their* doing so, it will be easy for them to have such papers moved for by some member of the legislature.

The Anti-State Church Association naturally comes in for a share of Mr. Fletcher's reprobation, nor do we complain of this. The society had been referred to by several of the speakers at the meeting which he declined to attend, and he cannot, therefore, be accused of travelling out of the record, in expressing his views respecting it. For his own sake, however, we wish he had been more careful in his statements, and sounder in the opinions he expresses. What does he mean in affirming that, 'the offensive conduct of some of its chief leaders, at the late 'Crosby Hall Conference,' has damaged its popularity?' This is a grave charge, and ought not to be lightly made by a Christian man. As, however, it is conveyed in general terms, we can only in reply, distinctly deny its truth. When the accuser condescends to specify names we shall be better prepared to disprove its correctness. The following sentence is equally opposed to facts, and the insinuation conveyed in the latter part of it, is as unworthy of Mr. Fletcher's character, as it is groundless. It is a pitiful attempt to revive a calumny which the history of three years has effectually exploded. Referring to the Association, Mr. Fletcher says, 'It is making no progress, and is apparently fast sinking into the abyss of 'Chartism.' It needs all our personal respect for the writer, to prevent our turning from such reckless statements with sheer disgust. Surely it is not too much to require of any man, that he should inform himself of the more obvious facts of a case about which he undertakes positively to pronounce. Had Mr. Fletcher done so in the present instance, he would have been preserved from uttering

* June, 1847, p. 683.

either of the inaccuracies contained in this sentence. So far from the society 'making no progress,' its income is rapidly on the increase, the number of its friends is multiplying on every hand, many of the most able and devout of those who stood aloof from its earlier movements are taking part in its affairs, and the kingdom at large is inviting its labors. Surely Mr. Fletcher would do well, before venturing again into print, to acquaint himself, slightly at least, with the matters about which he writes. But the secret is soon revealed. Mr. Fletcher dislikes the society, and is, therefore, as we apprehend, less scrupulous than he would otherwise be, in drawing its likeness and in predicting its fate. Truth, however, is truth, and falsehood is falsehood, after all, whether the matter discoursed about be palatable or not. Were this simple fact kept steadily in mind, what a guard would be set upon the tongues and pens of many good men! We are verily persuaded that much of the letter on which we are commenting, would, in such case, have been unwritten. But let our readers mark the reasoning by which Mr. Fletcher seeks to justify his dislike of the Anti-State-Church Society.

'I confess,' he says, 'I have no sympathy with the 'Anti-State-Church Society,' considering it an impertinent intermeddling with a question with which, as dissenters, we ought to have nothing to do. If the severance of the church from the state be ever accomplished, the work must be wrought out by its own members, unimpeded by our interference; but whenever it does take place, it will, in my judgment, prove 'a heavy blow and great discouragement' to every form of dissent.'

The object of the Anti-State-Church Society is the liberation of religion from State control, and this Mr. Fletcher considers 'an impertinent intermeddling' with a question with which we have nothing to do. We have read his words again and again, in the hope of extracting from them some other meaning, but all our efforts have failed. And is it, then, really so? Is the clear and emphatic assertion of the supremacy of our Lord in his church, and of the sole authority of his inspired word, 'an impertinent intermeddling?' Have we nothing to do with the spirituality of religion, with its freedom from the corrupting influences of an alliance with the state, with its vindication from the suspicions engendered, and the base charges preferred against it, as the tool of statecraft and of priestcraft? We need not reply. The common sense and piety of our readers anticipate us: but let them mark attentively the opinions of those by whom we are assailed. This, however, is not all. Mr. Fletcher is as guiltless of acquaintance with history, as he is ignorant of the present condition and tendency of

the Anti-State-Church Society. 'If,' he tells us, 'the severance of the church from the state be ever accomplished, the work must be wrought out by its own members, unimpeded by our interference.' We have been accustomed to such language and we know its worth. Substantially the same was used by the slaveholders of our colonies, nay, is repeated to this day by the pseudo-christian slaveholders of America. It was the cry which met the reformers in the sixteenth century, and which Parker, Whitgift, Bancroft, and Laud, urged against our fathers. When was it known that the members of a corrupt corporation, and much less the members of a secularized church, reformed themselves without external impulse? Let Mr. Fletcher point to a single case confirmatory of his rule, and we shall think better of his knowledge and of his judgment than we do at present. Not content, however, with having thus far committed himself, he adds, 'whenever it (the severance) does take place, it will, in my judgment, prove 'a heavy blow and great discouragement' to every form of dissent.' We are at some loss to ascertain the import of these words. If they mean that spirituality of mind and enlightened zeal in the Divine service, will be discouraged, they are in singular contrast to what the past history of the church, and the obvious tendencies of moral causes, would lead us to anticipate. If, on the other hand, they import simply that, an established church being annulled, all forms of dissent will cease, they are expressive of a simple truism, and have no relation whatever to the question in dispute. Remove the cause, and its effects will cease. Be it so; but what then? Let temperance universally prevail, and 'a heavy blow and great discouragement' will be given to intoxication; and so with any other form of evil. We suspect that these words were used with no very distinct conception of their meaning, and that their author, in consequence, must now find himself somewhat perplexed to bring them within the range of intelligent apprehension, without subjecting himself to a charge discreditable to his sagacity.

Dr. Vaughan's view of this matter is the very reverse of Mr. Fletcher's, and this was clearly and strongly expressed in his speech of the 6th April. We commend his words to Mr. Fletcher's consideration; and if no other good result from the study, he will, at least, be preserved from repeating the folly on which we have been commenting.

'Instead,' remarked Dr. Vaughan, 'of the severing of the church from the state being an injury, if he were in that church to-morrow he should expect to see a change like life from the dead. Men of the world would

drop away; many of those who had connected themselves with her from low and paltry motives, of which even the tractarians were ashamed,—these would be drifted away; but the sounder ones would be left, and the ecclesiastical body would only be the purer. Dissenters would not make war upon her: their wish was rather to walk by her side—be led by her if she would—instead of the church being, as hitherto, led by them.'

There is yet another matter to which we must advert. Referring to the 'Reasons' put forth for the projected organisation, Mr. Fletcher says,—

'In one of these 'Reasons,' there was a futile attempt to exhibit as a grievance the appointment of a bishop for Manchester; but surely the church has a right to appoint as many bishops as it may think needful, without asking leave of the dissenters, when it provides for their maintenance out of its own funds. Just as reasonable would it be for some churchman, more zealous than wise, to raise an agitation in Salford against Dr. Massie, for appointing an additional deacon in his church.'

We wonder much at the fallacy involved in this passage, and more especially that a gentleman in the writer's position should condescend to use it. It may do well enough, as a piece of mere clap-trap, addressed to an excited auditory, and intended to answer a momentary purpose only; but as a grave statement, designed to influence reflecting men, it is utterly beneath notice:—

'Surely,' responds Dr. Massie, (and we should like to know how the case he puts will be met) 'Mr. Fletcher does not mean to assert so much as his words imply. If my deacons had each £5,000 per annum from national property, paid according to act of parliament; if I and my colleagues thought that some of these deacons were receiving much more, say £20,000, and that others of them did no service for this princely revenue; if it were proposed, in order to popularise the institution, that a commission should be issued by parliament, to inquire, arrange, and complete a new division, and increase of functionaries; if such commission had sat at the national expense, say, £3,600 per annum, and that then a new act of parliament was to be submitted to the legislature, where it must be discussed, it may be modified, or rejected by a vote of the whole senate; if before any such additional functionary could be appointed, the bill must go through committee, be read, debated, reported, and again read and passed by each house of legislature, and afterward signed by the sovereign; and if when brought into operation, its provisions must be under the administration of the public servants of the crown, if by *common law* it followed that such newly-appointed functionary should have courts, officers, prerogatives, surveillance, control, jurisdiction over the property, the taxes, bequests, wills, testaments, and administrations of all classes, socialist, unitarian, sceptic, or whatever sectary, conforming or nonconforming, within the bounds—could any man be honourably or legitimately excluded from his expression of

opinion, and, if he disapproved, from every lawful attempt to prevent the perpetuation of such a system? Mr. Fletcher must look at his parallel again, and try his logic rather than his assumption.'

The loosest conceptions possible are prevalent on what is termed 'church property.' Ecclesiastics, as interested parties, have adopted a set form of speech on the subject, which has been reiterated so often, and so long, as to influence somewhat popular apprehension. All thoughtful men, however, have seen through the matter. Constitutional authorities are substantially agreed; and it is not to the credit of Mr. Fletcher that their opinion is directly the reverse of his. We purpose, ere long, entering at length on the question; and shall, therefore, at present content ourselves with appealing to the conclusive reasoning of Sir James Macintosh. That such a man should, on such a subject, so far outstrip a gentleman reared amidst the institutions and habits of nonconformity, affords melancholy evidence how the amplest opportunities may be lost, through inaptitude, thoughtlessness, or prejudice. The church of England, as by law established, enjoys its revenues under the authority of an act of parliament, or has received them on the conditions, and with the obligations, originally imposed. If the former, for which we contend, then it has admitted the right of the state to deal with such revenues, and cannot now question that right, without impugning its own title. If the latter, then it is guilty of a fraudulent appropriation of such revenues; since nothing is clearer than that the tithes were originally devoted to the support of the poor, and the repair of ecclesiastical edifices, as well as to the maintenance of the clergy. Let either alternative be adopted. On one or the other of the horns of this dilemma, the advocates of Mr. Fletcher's theory must be impaled. We will not, however, be tempted to enter into this question now. Enough has been said to indicate our views, and we defer to a future opportunity their illustration and defence. In the meantime, we say to our dissenting readers, Acquaint yourselves thoroughly with the subject; master its difficulties, whatever labor may be involved. The times require this at your hands, and the coming exigencies of the controversy in which you are engaged render it imperative. As yet, we have been addressing religious men only; but the whole community is now awakening to the theme, and you must be prepared for the thorough and intelligent discussion of its wider and more national aspects.

But Mr. Fletcher is apprehensive of the effect of what he terms 'declamatory meetings,' on 'our strength and efficiency as a body.' 'Godliness and contentment,' he says, 'are not to be produced by the excitement of demi-political associations;'

and then, in semi-poetic language, the application of which we are at a loss to conjecture, he assures us, 'The spirit of nonconformity is not to be roused 'to break a fly upon the wheel,' nor will it ever acknowledge as its guides the leaders of the late meeting.

'The earth hath bubbles, as the water hath,
And *this* is of them.'

'Common sense,' he adds, 'and the exhortation to 'follow peace with all men, and holiness,' forbid that such proceedings should be sanctioned by the nonconformists of Lancashire.' Were it the object of the writer to point out the special dangers attendant on the course in which dissenters are now engaged, we should join heartily with him, and do our utmost to give effect to his warnings. That there are such dangers we readily admit, and it is the part of wisdom and of Christian integrity to guard against them. But Mr. Fletcher's language is intended to express much more than this. It betrays the partial range of his knowledge, an inconsiderate and one-sided judgment, and a feeble, unreflecting, and mawkish piety. It is the current phraseology of a class which, under the garb of superior sanctity, discountenances all attempts to relieve religion from secular control. It has been commonly directed against the advocates of reform, and is not without influence in certain quarters. Respect for many who utter it, has frequently prevented its exposure, but the interests of truth, a righteous regard to what we deem duty, constrains us to say, that its character is more than doubtful, and that its whole tendency is to shield error from the vigorous and effective assaults of truth. We disallow the claim preferred by those who adopt it. In many cases it is a pure assumption, and to be treated with contempt; while in others, and by far the least numerous class, it betokens simply a defective apprehension of duty, and a consequent neglect of some of the most important departments of Christian service. Dr. Massie has well exposed the historical ignorance which such language discloses, and Mr. Fletcher and his associates would do well attentively to consider the facts to which he so ably refers.

'Mr. Fletcher,' he says, 'has great apprehensions from this political agitation among nonconformists in our day. When will he find nonconformity 'in its *strength*? and who are its ornaments whom he would have us imitate? Will he accept Howe, Owen, Baxter, Flavel, Godwin, Hicks, Mather, Calamy, and Bates?' Trace them into camps, parliaments, courts, politics, resolutions, petitions, addresses. Listen to the *chaplains* of Cromwell; follow Owen as a member of parliament, and hear his colleagues preaching to both houses. Contemplate Cromwell's regiment convening as a church, while they lay at Cambridge, and

inviting Richard Baxter to become their pastor; and read what he afterwards says in regret that he had refused such a call, '*however it had been interpreted.*' Let all who think with Mr. Fletcher, visit the dungeons of Charles—the victims of prelatic power, and 'the martyrs in spirit,' whom episcopal arrogance had made their inmates—and see how political they had been in agitation and declamatory meetings, and in passive resistance to cruel and unjust laws, and a priest-serving magistracy. What made nonconformists political but a political church? But *we* must not be political. 'Common sense, and the exhortation to *follow peace with all men, and holiness*, forbid that such proceedings should be sanctioned by the nonconformists of Lancashire.' So says Mr. Samuel Fletcher!

'So, in effect, said Gamaliel—so *perhaps* thought Gallio; but still the men who turned the world upside down, pursued their commission. Animated by the same spirit were the fathers of English nonconformity; though the 'Lancashire clergy' coveted another destiny, and contended for a sectarian ascendancy. The spirit which obeys God rather than men is not now asleep, even in the county of Lancaster; although some should, with sinister threatenings, prophesy antagonism to the 'internal peace of our churches.'

We refer Mr. Fletcher, however, to another authority, to which, on this question at least, he professes deference. Dr. Vaughan's speech of April 6th, from which we have already quoted, supplies, by anticipation, an answer to all such morbid piety as is prevalent in certain quarters. We have the more pleasure in quoting his language, as it is obviously susceptible of a wider application than was contemplated by the speaker.

'It had been justly observed,' remarked Dr. Vaughan, 'that their position as a religious body was likely to be materially altered in relation to the political parties of the country. Perhaps things had been going on, as regarded religious parties, in a wrong course, and it was high time there should be a breaking up somewhere. It was an important consideration, that nearly all the great social questions which had been occupying us for the last thirty years were nearly settled. First came the slave-question; and then came the reform question—not only with reference to parliament, but our municipal institutions also; and then came that other great question, that in which Manchester stood in the position of a nucleus—free trade. These questions were disposed of. But there was another ready to take the place of them, that great question being, a separate state of existence for things religious. They might be laughed at, at first. It would not be the first time that the assertors of a great principle had been a people to be laughed at. At the beginning, nothing great as regarded the social condition of the world had risen up speedily, and nearly everything of that nature had grown up from small things. And there were shallow heads that always despised the day of small things. But there were those who could trace in the features of the infant the lineaments of the future man. It was a beautiful thought, that the principle of religion

should be the voluntary action of man's soul towards God; and the more they could separate it from all the coarse trappings which the conventionalisms of this world had thrown about it, and place it in its simple native beauty before the soul of man, the more would men see there was something profane in the coarse touch of this world's power. But they had dull scholars in St. Stephen's to deal with.'

With this authority we close, simply remarking, that 'the strength of nonconformity,' to which Mr. Fletcher refers, does not consist in an exclusive regard to any one branch of duty, but in a proportionate attention being given to all. To neglect the more public, from a professed regard to that which is private, is to involve our whole profession in question, whilst, to overlook the latter, in an eager pursuit of the former, is to bring our motives into doubt, and to deprive our labours of their main-stay, and sanctifying power.

Brief Notices.

The Jesuits at Cambridge. By Sir George Stephen. In two volumes. London: Henry Colburn.

THE title of these volumes attracted our attention on their first announcement, and induced an early and attentive perusal of them. There are few things which we more heartily dislike than the indiscriminate condemnation of a class, the charging on a whole community all the follies or the vices which pertain to its several members. There has been too much of this amongst us in reference to popery, and our protestant zeal has, in consequence, frequently shown itself in drawing the darkest pictures which imagination could dictate, of the adherents of the papal church. The title of these volumes awakened the suspicion of something of the kind being met with in them, and we have not been wholly at fault. It is due, however, to the author, to admit, that the Jesuit order has been pre-eminent in an unscrupulous practice of the basest arts which promised to further its ecclesiastical policy. Devoted beyond all others to the interests of the popedom, it has deemed no craft dishonorable, no artifice base or mean, by which its end might be compassed. It has stood ready, at all times, under all circumstances, and by every means, to work out the aggrandizement of the papal

See ; evincing on some occasions, heroic intrepidity, an almost super-human virtue, and descending, on others, to the most tortuous, relentless, and disgraceful policy. History does not furnish a doubt of the *Order* having been so distinguished, and the dark coloring of Sir George Stephen, therefore, fails to repel, as it would do in other cases. Still we question the truthfulness of the impression made by his volumes, and more than doubt the benefit of their publication. 'Circumstances not necessary to detail,' he remarks, 'have made me familiar with the present tone of feeling among the junior classes at Cambridge ;' and it is with a view of correcting this, or, at least, of guarding against the dangers to which such are exposed, that he has employed his leisure in the preparation of these volumes. The work opens with a Cambridge 'frolic,' in which three under-graduates,—Mr. Stanley, Mr. Harrison, and Mr. Lawrence, were the actors, and of which the punishment was to learn fifty lines of Homer, which was subsequently changed, in the case of Stanley, to a translation of the passage into Latin hexameter. The cleverness and tact of Harrison came to the relief of his friend on the occasion, and laid the foundation of an affectionate intimacy between them, on which much of the subsequent interest of the narrative turns. The three young men spend part of their vacation at Glen Cottage, the residence of Harrison's family, where Lawrence is instantly enamoured of Agnes, one of his sisters ; and Stanley, though by a slower process, becomes deeply attached to another, Cecilia. Their introduction to the family brings together the principal *dramatis personæ*, and affords an opportunity, of which the elder Harrison takes advantage, to tamper with their principles and integrity. We shall not attempt to pursue the narrative. Suffice it to say, that the elder Harrison,—the Jesuit of the tale,—is a monster, not a man ; that the other characters are drawn with skill, though some of them—Agnes and Lawrence, particularly—are exaggerations of the probable ; that the plot is ably conducted, and that the disquisitions interspersed, which are frequent and extended, display considerable information, and a vigorous and earnest mind. One thing is obvious throughout the work, and that is the sincerity of the author and the warm interest felt in his theme. He writes like a man who regards his thoughts more than his words, and would rather effect conviction than command praise. The great fault of the work, in our view, is the character of the elder Harrison. Had it been different, equally devoted to the papacy, but showing some semblance of the feelings of humanity, it would have fallen within the limits of probability, and the lesson it is designed to give would have been greatly aided. As it is, we turn from it as an exaggeration of the moral deformities which we are sometimes doomed to witness.

Protestant France; or, the Lives of the French Protestants known in history from the beginning of the Reformation to the declaration by the National Assembly of 1789, in favour of the right of religious liberty; with an Historical Survey of Protestantism in France; and a collection of documents. By M. Haug. Vol. 1. Paris. 8vo. 1846.

THIS book will supply a want felt by all who have studied the more important portions of European *and English* history, which are connected with the struggles of the French protestants during the last three centuries. The first volume of the work deserves a word of praise, in order to encourage its able author in the completion of his very difficult task. The struggles of a minority, however large (and the French protestants have, from a very early date, been singularly strong), are necessarily the results of individual, rather than of collective effort. Biography, therefore, is more appropriate than history to such a case. There is one portion, especially, of the French protestants, calculated to excite great interest, though hitherto too little has been known of them. These are the leaders of the emigrants who carried the industry and arts of France, some of its literature, and much of its science, far and wide, in the reigns of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. Our Romillys and Masères, our Latouches and Laboucheres, show the stuff those emigrants were made of; and every other protestant country could produce their equals from the same stock. The number of those who mastered the difficulties of their new position, and attained distinction in foreign lands, do as much honour to the strength and versatility of the French character, as to the hospitality of their new homes.

Mr. Haug has judiciously introduced his biographies with a convenient and candid summary of the political events in France bearing upon protestantism from the time of Luther to 1789. Although he is justly severe in his reproaches against persecution, he is not blind to the too frequent violences committed by the persecuted against their enemies. An important part of the work is composed of documents from the year 1525. Most of them are indispensable to illustrate the legal position of the individuals whose lives were often in danger from such enactments and regulations. Many of them might perhaps have been dispensed with to make way for matter more peculiarly belonging to the body of the work. If two-fifths of the future volumes are to be composed of documents, the proportion reserved for biography will hardly be enough to admit the proper details, without extending the collection to an inconvenient length.

Remarks on the Connexion between Religion and the State. By William Urwick, D.D. pp. 72. Dublin: John Robertson. London: R. Groombridge & Sons.

A VERY clear, temperate, and able discussion, in a series of propositions, of the chosen subject—rendered peculiarly valuable by not being confined to the negative view of the question.

The Mount of Olives, and other Lectures on Prayer. By the Rev. James Hamilton. pp. 215. London : Nisbet & Co.

MR. HAMILTON possesses several qualifications of a popular writer. Fervour of spirit, fluency of imagination, and a plentiful supply of words, go further now-a-days than more valuable gifts. We rejoiced in beholding some of the first fruits of his pen, as he broke so fearlessly through the dull formalities of theological style, and we did not wonder that he should excite a large degree of public attention; but his later productions have been marked by the increased indulgence of tastes that he should rather have mortified. If he would make the most for the good of men of his popularity, and would retain it, we suggest that he must exercise his reason more, and his fancy less; remember that refinement is compatible with force, and consider a disposition to smile as among the poorest evidences of effective writing on religious subjects. We should not say this about a man for whom we had no respect, but Mr. Hamilton has a solemn trust in the access he has obtained to a large multitude of readers, and is endowed with abilities to discharge it well.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

Christian Privileges; or, a View of the Peculiar Blessings appertaining to the Believer in Christ. By T. Lewis, of Islington.

The Provincial Letters of Pascal; with an 'Essay on Pascal, considered as a Writer and Moralist.' By M. Villemain. Newly translated from the French. With Memoir, Notes and Appendix.

A Condensed History of the General Baptists of the New Connexion. Preceded by Historical Sketches of the early Baptists. By J. H. Wood.

Preachers, Pastors, and Bishops; or, An increased Ministerial Agency needed for the British Wesleyan Church. By Benjamin Love.

Outlines of Geography and Ethnography for Youth. By the Rev. W. Barnes.

Sketches of Scottish Church History; embracing the period from the Reformation to the Revolution. By the Rev. Thomas M'Crie. 2 vols. Fourth Edition.

The Revivals of the Eighteenth Century, particularly at Cambuslang. With three Sermons by the Rev. George Whitefield, taken in Shorthand. Compiled from original Manuscripts and contemporary Publications. By the Rev. D. Macfarlan, D.D.

Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Thomas Halyburton, Professor of Divinity in the University of St. Andrew's. With an Appendix embracing an Account of the Church of Scotland during the times of Halyburton.

The Christian Treasury. Containing Contributions from Ministers and Members of various Evangelical Denominations. Part VI.

The People's Dictionary. Part XXIV.

The Geographical Progress of Empire and Civilization. By the Rev. T. Price.

Peace (permanent and universal) the Law of Christ.

The Chronological Scripture Atlas. Containing a complete Series of Maps elucidatory of the Sacred History. Illustrating also the principal Epochs in the Ecclesiastical History of Christendom, and the Condition of the Holy Land from the earliest ages to the present day. An elaborate Chart of General History, with a comparative Index and Concordance of all the Scripture occurrences of the Places.

A Discourse of the Qualities and Worth of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D., &c. &c., late principal and primarius Professor of Theology in the New College, Edinburgh. By Wm. Lindsay Alexander, D.D.

The Sunday School. An Essay. In Three Parts. By Louisa Davids.

The Marrow of the Controversy. The Facts and Figures between the Rev. Dr. Reed and the Directors of the London Missionary Society. By Luther and Melancthon.

The Biblical Repository and Classical Review. Conducted by Rev. W. H. Bidwell. July, 1847.

Sacred Geology; or, the Scriptural Account of the World's Creation maintained, and Reasons assigned for questioning that Geological Hypothesis concerning the Sedimentary Formation of Strata, from whence the inference has been drawn that inconceivably long periods of time elapsed between each of these formations and before the Creation of Man, being a Series of Papers originally written for the Church of England Quarterly Review, and now for the first time collected together.

A Voice from the North. By Stafford Reeves.

The Rail; its Origin and Progress. With Illustrative Anecdotes and Engravings. By Peter Progress the Younger.

The Headship of Christ as affected by National Church Establishments. A Lecture delivered in West George Street Chapel on the Evening of the Lord's Day, 2d May, 1847. Being the first of a Series by Ministers of different denominations, undertaken at the request of the Committee of the Glasgow Voluntary Church Association. By Ralph Wardlaw, D.D.

The Macaulay Election (of 1846); or, the Designs of the Ministry. Second Edition, containing comments on the Macaulay rejection (of 1847). By John Robertson.

Freedom of Education. A Letter to the Committee of the British School, Sudbury. By Wm. Macnab.

The National Cyclopædia of Useful Knowledge. Vol. II.

The Imperial Dictionary; English, Technological, and Scientific. Adapted to the present state of Literature, Science, and Art. Comprising all words purely English, &c. Divisions I. & II.

The History of England during the Thirty Years' Peace. No. VI.

The Pictorial Bible. Part VIII.

Memorials of the Dawn of the Reformation in Europe.

Select Writings of Robert Chambers. Popular Rhymes of Scotland.

Oxford Protestant Magazine for September. No VII.

The Modern Orator. Part VI. Charles James Fox.

Rowbotham's Guide to French Conversation. Comprising Vocabularies and Dialogues on Subjects particularly useful to Travellers and Learners.

A Series of Progressive Exercises in Latin Elegiac Verse. By the Rev. Edward Walford, M.A.

The Power of the Press. Is it rightly employed? Facts, Inquiries, and Suggestions. Addressed to Members of Christian Churches.

The Rock of Israel; or, a Word or two to the Distrustful.